Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America

Part IV.1: The Morgan Library and Museum

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The morgan library and museum (formerly The Pierpont Morgan Library) was established as a New York City public institution in 1924, when John Pierpont Morgan Jr. (1867–1943) transferred his father's private library to a board of trustees and provided an endowment for the Library's maintenance.[1] The elder John Pier-

* This article is the first part of the fourth installment of my "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America." The first three installments have been published as "Catalogue … Part I: Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library," *Manuscripta* 49 (2005): 165–245; "Catalogue … Part II: The New York Public Library," *Manuscripta* 50 (2006): 21–76; and "Catalogue … Part III: Miscellaneous Small Collections of New York City," *Manuscripta* 51 (2007): 61–130. Further parts will follow. A general introduction to the catalogue and a description of the form of entry are given in the first part.

1. On the history and collections of of the Morgan Library and Museum, see *In August Company: The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1993), 13–30; and Jean Strouse, "Mr. Morgan and his Library," in *The Morgan Library: An American Masterpiece* (New York, 2000), 11–

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pont Morgan (1837–1913), a prominent banker and financier and one of the wealthiest American businessmen, was an avid collector of art, literary and historical autographs, rare printed books, and medieval and Renaissance manuscripts (mostly illuminated). Morgan's bequest directed his son to make the collections "permanently available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people."[2]

The library's collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts consists of about 1,360 items, of which 630 were purchased by the elder J.P. Morgan. After his father's death, J.P. Morgan Jr. continued to acquire manuscripts, as did the Library's staff with Morgan's funds. The collection contains seventeen Greek manuscripts, in addition to two small fragments (one-folio and four-folio) from Greek manuscripts, and five Coptic manuscripts that are bilingual or contain some Greek texts. These Greek materials have attracted the attention of many scholars, mostly art historians, but they have been studied unevenly. Some manuscripts have been scrutinized in considerable detail, such as the well-known deluxe lectionary M.639 executed in Constantinople, and the collection of fables and narratives M.397 that was copied and illuminated in the Calabria-Campania or Lazio regions of Italy. Other manuscripts are relatively unknown and have been insufficiently studied, such as the Gospel books M.340 and M.423. For all these manuscripts I have been able to provide new information, and for many new or more precise dating and/or localization. Of these twenty-four items, twelve will be described in Part IV.1 of this catalogue here; the remaining twelve will be described in Part IV.2 (forthcoming).

The Greek manuscripts of the Morgan Library represent a broad diversity of dates and places of production,

27. The Library's website also provides comprehensive information about the Library's founder, history, collections, and buildings.

2. *In August Company,* 25.

styles of script, levels of decoration, and content. Production dates range from the sixth century (M.874) to the sixteenth (M.350), and places of production from Trebizond in the East (M.499) to Italy in the West (M.397), and from Greek Macedonia in the North (M.748) to the Fayyum region of Egypt in the South (M.574 and M.597). The types of script range from a formal six-century biblical majuscule in M.874 to a fifteenth-century scholarly cursive in M.745, and levels of decoration from the lavishly illuminated M.639 to the plain text of M.758. The contents of these manuscripts include Aesop's *Fables* in M.397, an imperial chrysobull in M.398, Greek liturgical hymns in M.350, and other texts.

As a result of this first thorough survey of the Morgan's Greek manuscript collection, I have been able to refine our knowledge of these materials in several ways. A copy of the Gospels (M.340), which had previously been attributed to the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth centuries, and whose place of production was not established, I have been able, on the basis of paleographical analysis, to link to several manuscripts produced in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in the Hodegon monastery in Constantinople. I have also been able to identify the scribe of M.378 as the same anonymous copyist who produced another Gospel book—Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 24—a manuscript probably decorated by the same artist as the well-known Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS gr. 339, executed in Constantinople in the middle of the twelfth century. On this basis, I conclude that the Morgan codex was also executed in the middle of the twelfth century in the same Constantinopolitan scriptorium as St. Catherine's gr. 339.

Morgan M.423, precisely datable from its Easter Tables to 1299, was previously deemed to be the product of a southern Italian atelier. Analysis of the forms and palette of the manuscript's decorated initials has led me instead to believe it was most likely executed in Epiros, Greece. I have also identified the artist who executed the drawings of the Deesis and of the evangelists in this manuscript as the same

anonymous artist who decorated Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS gr. 260 with similar drawings. The St. Catherine's codex, previously attributed to the twelfth century, can now be reattributed to the end of the thirteenth.

An Amulet Roll in the Morgan collections (M.499) is well-known to art historians. It was executed around the middle of the fourteenth century, but hypotheses about its origin have differed significantly; Constantinople, Egypt, and Trebizond have been suggested as possible places of production. I have identified the scribe of this roll as the same anonymous notary of the imperial chancery who executed a chrysobull of the emperor of Trebizond Alexios III Komnenos in 1374. This identification makes the Trebizond origin of the Morgan roll virtually certain. In addition, I have provided identification for the first time of all the saints pictured in M.499, including the prophet Daniel in the eighteenth miniature, who was hitherto mistakenly identified as a woman (!). Because most of the saints in this roll are warriors, I conclude that the Morgan Amulet Roll was commissioned by a Trapezuntine military commander to protect himself in battle.

The anonymous scribe of a Gospel Lectionary (M.639) I have been able to identify as the same who executed the deluxe lectionary Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 587m. This identification provides additional evidence in favor of the Constantinopolitan origin of M.639 and contributes to our knowledge of an important scriptorium/atelier where these and many other related manuscripts were produced.

Finally, a Coptic manuscript (M.597) in the collection contains three small mutilated fragments in Greek from the Epistle of Jude. These fragments are identified as Greek in the internal file, but are not listed among the Greek manuscripts in Olivier's *Répertoire*.[3] The fragments are written in

3. Jean-Marie Olivier, ed., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, 3rd ed. (Turnhout, 1995).

early Alexandrian majuscules, eighth or ninth centuries) and are described here for the first time.

My research on the Morgan collection of Greek manuscripts was facilitated by the work of several generations of the Library's curators who developed extensive internal files for each manuscript. These files were recently scanned and are available on the Library's website, which advises scholars to use the files "with caution." Indeed, the files contain a number of mistakes and inaccuracies, especially in dating and localization. Furthermore, these descriptions do not address all of the criteria for a modern catalogue: for example, ruling patterns and systems are not identified, writing styles are not categorized, and watermarks are not used for dating. And few comparisons were made with manuscripts from other libraries around the world. Nonetheless, the Morgan files are useful for various purposes, especially the elucidation of scholarly discourse in the twentieth century.

The completion of this part of my catalogue would not have been possible without support and help from many institutions and individuals. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies of Harvard University in Washington, D.C. My four-month fellowship in residence at Dumbarton Oaks was very important during the final stages of writing catalogue entries. The rich and specialized Dumbarton Oaks Research Library was indispensable for my study of secondary sources and enabled me to provide a comprehensive bibliography for each manuscript. I would also like to thank Dumbarton Oaks for a research grant, the Bibliographical Society of America for a fellowship, and the American Philosophical Society for a grant that funded numerous research trips to the Morgan Library as well as microfilms, reproductions, and photocopies.

For many different kinds of help, I wish to thank Alice-Mary Talbot, John Duffy, Annaclara Cataldi Palau, Consuelo Dutschke, Mark Sosower, Svetlana Kujumdzieva, Irmgard Hutter, Nancy Ševčenko, Charalambos Dendrinos,

Maria Litina, Sylvie Merian, Stratis Papaioannou, Glenn Peers, Yury Pyatnitsky, Irfan Shahid, and last, but not least, my husband, Erik Hoffmann. I am grateful to the staff of the Morgan Library and Museum for their assistance and appreciation of my work, especially William Voelkle, Roger Wieck, Inge Dupont, and Maria Molestina. I take full responsibility for the contents of this catalogue and invite readers to inform me of any omissions or inaccuracies (nkavrush@nycap.rr.com).

Glenmont, New York

THE MORGAN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

MS M.340

The Four Gospels (Aland 2382)
Constantinople, Hodegon monastery (?), s.xiv[1]

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–2v: List of Chapter Titles for Matthew (1–68). Title (fol. 1r): Τοῦ κατὰ Μ(α)τ(θαῖον) ἁγίου εὐα(γγελίου) κεφάλαια. Inc. (fol. 1r): Α᾽ Περὶ τῶν μάγων … Expl. (fol. 2v): ΞΗ᾽ Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ.

   Soden, 405–407.

Fol. 3r: originally blank; note by a modern hand in violet ink, now illegible because of water damage.

Fols. 3v–4r: blank.

2. fol. 4v: Preface to the Lectionary of the Gospels.[4] Title: Δήλω(σις) διαλαμβάνου(σα)· τ(ὴν) τοῦ χρόνου τῶν εὐαγγελί(ων) ἀνάγνω(σιν)· κ(αὶ) τ(ὴν) τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν διαδοχήν· πόθ(εν) τε ἄρχονται κ(αὶ) ποῦ καταλήγουσιν. Inc.: Ἰστέον ὅτι ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ ὕφος τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) εὐα(γγελίου) ἐν ἑβδ(ομᾶσιν) ὅλαις ζ᾽ … ;

4. The same preface is found in New York, Union Theological Seminary, MS 69, executed in the middle of the fourteenth century in the Hodegon Monastery; see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue … Part III," 111–23 and figs. 7–9.

Expl.: … τὸ δὲ ὑπόλοιπον ἀναγινώ(σκεται) τῇ μ(εγάλῃ) <τεσσαρακοστῇ>ἐντοῖςσ(α)β(βάτοις)<καὶ>κυ(ριακαῖς).

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Not published.

Fol. 5r: blank.

Fol. 5v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Matthew.

3. fols. 6r–87r: The Gospel of Matthew. Title (fol. 6r): Τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ματθαῖο(ν) ἅγιο(ν) εὐα(γγέλιον). Inc. (fol. 6r): Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ Δα(υὶ)δ ... ; Expl. (fol. 87r): … ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν. Τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Μ(α)τ(θαῖον) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. Ἐξεδόθη ὑπ᾽αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, μετὰ χρόνους η᾽ τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλήψεως. Στίχ(οι) ,βχ᾽.

NTG, 1–116.

4. fols. 87v–88v (lns. 1–12): List of Chapter Titles for Mark (1–48). Title (fol. 87v): Τὰ κεφάλ(αια) τοῦ κατὰ Μ(ά)ρ(κον) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. Inc. (fol. 87v): Α᾽ Περὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου … Expl. (fol. 88v): ΜΗ᾽ Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ.

Soden, 407–409.

5. fol. 88v (lns. 13–17): Preface to the Gospel of Mark. No title. Inc.: Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Μ(ά)ρ(κον) εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ... ; Expl.: ... τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δηλοῦντος.

Soden, 311; Nelson, 8.

Fol. 89r: blank.

Fol. 89v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Mark.

6. fols. 90r–141v: The Gospel of Mark. Title (fol. 90r): Τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) ἅγ(ιον) εὐα(γγέλιον). Inc. (fol. 90r): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ὡς γέγραπται ... ; Expl. (fol. 141v): … διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. Ἀμήν.[5] Τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Μ(ά)ρ(κον) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. Ἐξεδόθη τοῦτο μετὰ χρόνους ι᾽ τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλήψεως. Στίχ(οι) ,αχ᾽.

   NTG, 117–92.

7. fols. 142r–144r (lns. 1–11): List of Chapter Titles for Luke (1–83). Title (fol. 142r): Τὰ κεφάλαια τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. Inc. (fol. 142r): Α᾽ Περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς … ; Expl. (fol. 144r): ΠΓ᾽ Περὶ τοῦ κλεόπα.

   Soden, 409–11.

8. fol. 144r (lns. 12–15): Preface to the Gospel of Luke. No title. Inc.: Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Λου(κᾶν) εὐα(γγέλιον) ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Παύλου ... ; Expl.: … θυμιῶντος ἤρξατο.

   Soden, 311; Nelson, 8.

Fols. 144v–145r: blank.

Fol. 145v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Luke.

9. fols. 146r–232r: The Gospel of Luke. Title (fol. 146r): Τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκ(ᾶν) ἅγιο(ν) εὐα(γγέλιον). Inc. (fol. 146r): Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ... ; Expl. (fol.

5. This is a long conclusion of the Gospel, Mark 16:20, in contrast to a short conclusion that ends at Mark 16:8 (for example, in Morgan M.748). On this subject, see Kurt and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989), 69.

232r): … αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Θ(εό)ν. Ἀμήν. Τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. Στίχ(οι) ,βω'. Ἐξεδόθη
74 τοῦτο μετὰ χρόνους ιε'τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλήψεως.

NTG, 193–311.

10. fol. 232v: List of Chapter Titles for John (1–18). Title: Τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc. Α' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου … ; Expl. ΙΗ' Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος.

Soden, 411.

11. fols. 233r–296v: The Gospel of John. Title (fol. 233r): Τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον. Inc. (fol. 233r): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος … ; Expl. (fol. 96v): … χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Ἀμήν. Τέλος πάντων. Τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐα(αγγέλιον) ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους λβ' τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλήψεως. Στίχοι ,βτ'.

Lacuna: preface to the Gospel of John and portrait of the Evangelist John are missing.

NTG, 312–406.

12. fols. 297r–300v (col. 2, ln. 6): List of Gospel Readings for the Movable Feasts. Title (fol. 297r): Δήλω(σις) τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέρ(αν) ὄφειλόντ(ῶν) λέγεσθαι εὐαγγελίων δι' ὅλων τῶν τοῦ χρόνου ἑβδομάδων.

13. fol. 300v (col. 2, lns. 7–16): List of Gospel Readings for the Passions. Title: Τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν τὰ ιβ'εὐαγγέλια.

14. fol. 300v (col. 2, lns. 17–21): List of Gospel Readings for the Hours. Title: Εὐα(γγέλια) τῶν ὡρῶν τ(ῆς) Μεγά(λης) Παρα(σκευῆς).

15. fol. 300v (lns. 22–25): List of Gospel Readings for the Morning Resurrection. Title: Τὰ ἑωθινὰ ια᾽εὐαγγέλια.

16. fols. 301r–303v: List of Gospel Readings for the Fixed Feasts. Title (fol. 301r): Ἑορτολόγιον σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ τῶν ιβ᾽ μην(ῶν) δηλοῦν τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τεταγμένα ἀναγινώσκεσθαι εὐα(γγέλια).

17. fols. 304r–v: List of Gospel Readings for Various Occasions. Title (fol. 304r): Εὐαγγέλια λεγόμενα εἰς διαφόρους μνήμας ἁγίων.

Fols. 305r–306v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 305 (numbered 1–304; a blank folio *iii* is part of the first quire, numbered as a flyleaf); four original parchment flyleaves, blank, two at the beginning of the manuscript (numbered *i–ii*) and two at the end (numbered 305–6);[6] 185/187 x 133 mm. (one col.; written surface 124 x 77 mm.). Written in 18 lines, interlinear space 7–7.5 mm. Not ruled. Thirty-nine quires; collation: 1^{8} (-2, 7, probably with loss of the prefaces to the four Gospels and to the Gospel of Matthew) $2–11^{8}$ 12^{4} (a binion) $13–29^{8}$ 30^{8} (-8, with loss of the preface to the Gospel of John and the portrait of the Evangelist John) $31–39^{8}$. Quires signed α᾽–λθ᾽ by the scribe in the upper right corner of the first recto and in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire (some signatures on top margins were cropped during binding). Parchment of very good quality, thin and medium thin, smooth, creamy-white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side). Wax stains and some soiling. Ink light to medium brown with a grayish tint.

6. Originally there were probably four parchment flyleaves at each end of the manuscript; the first and the last are now pastedowns, and folios adjacent to the pastedowns were cut out and the stubs are still visible.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is elegant, small-sized, archaizing minuscule with elements of early Hodegon style (fig. 1). Letters zeta, phi, majuscule lambda, and tachygraphic abbreviation for καί are always enlarged; letters nu, upsilon, majuscule epsilon, and majuscule kappa are enlarged occasionally (usually at the end of a line). Majuscule lambda is positioned below the line. Strokes of some letters are elongated, especially oblique strokes of chi, majuscule lambda, and majuscule alpha. Elongated oblique strokes create an impression of angularity of the script. Similar scripts are found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. gr. 38, copied by a monk and calligrapher Menas (probably in the first half of the fourteenth century in the Hodegon monastery in Constantinople),[7] and in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chig. gr. 23 (R.V.29), copied by a scribe John of the Hodegon Monastery.[8] The three scribes—anonymous of M.340, Menas, and John—exhibit distinctive features of the early Hodegon writing style, such as majuscule alpha with elongated oblique stroke, tall zeta resembling the upper part of a question mark, an enlarged angular upper part of epsilon detached from the letter's body and connected with a following letter, and ligature upsilon-xi with enlarged and rounded xi. These and other features were widely used and further developed, sometimes in an exaggerated manner, by subsequent generations of Hodegon calligraphers.

7. See Menas's autographs in *CBM*, 1:109–111, cat. no. 68 and figs. 414–19; *RGK*, 1:275.

8. See samples of John's handwriting in Linos Politis, "Nouvelles données sur Joasaph, copiste du monastère des Hodèges," *Illinois Classical Studies* 7 (1982): 299–322, fig. 6; *CDIGM*, 2:pl. 489; and *RGK,* 3:pl. 178, no. 331. I thank Dr. Irmgard Hutter for fruitful discussions of the Hodegon writing style and decoration and for sharing with me her unpublished descriptions of and images from several Hodegon manuscripts including Chig. gr. 23.

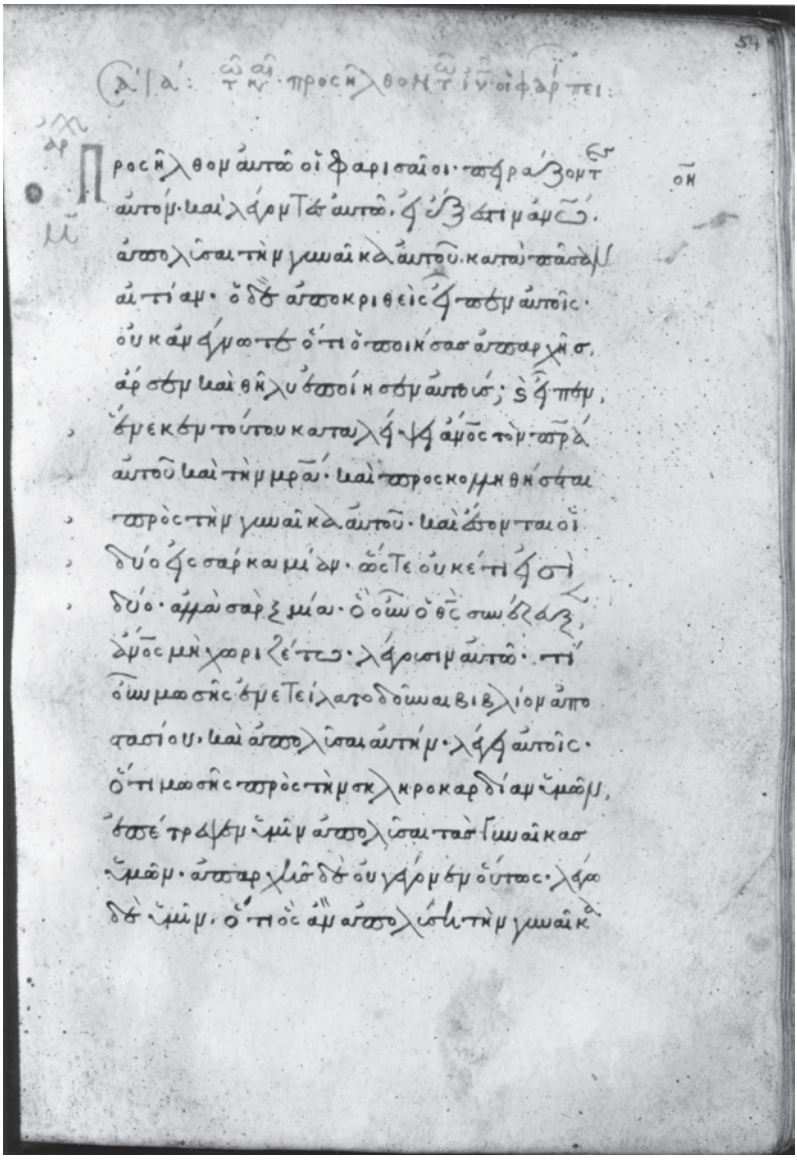

Figure 1.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.340, fol. 54r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

Chig. gr. 23, copied for the most part by the scribe John, is often dated to the year 1394. But this date is correct only
78 for the codex's last quire, which was added later and signed by the famous scribe and monk of the Hodegon monastery Joasaph II, who copied at least two dozen manuscripts between the second half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. Joasaph's script is more rounded and mannered than John's and represents a fully developed Hodegon writing style.[9] In contrast, John, Menas, and the anonymous scribe of M.340 display angular archaizing script with elements of Hodegon style similar to the script of another monk and scribe of the Hodegon monastery, Chariton I. Manuscripts copied by Chariton I are dated by the scribe himself and span the years 1319 to 1346.[10] Thus I conclude that M.340 and Chig. gr. 23, as well as Canon. gr. 38, should be attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The entire text of M.340 was copied by the same scribe, but the script of the Preface to the Lectionary of the Gos-

9. On the scribe Joasaph II, the scriptorium of the Hodegon monastery, and the Hodegon writing style, see: Marie Vogel and Viktor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 33 (Leipzig, 1909; repr. 1966), 215; Linos Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958): 17–36 and 262–87; Alexander Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican City, 1964), 177–80 and pl. 158; Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 29 (1980): 187–236; *RGK,* 1:no. 208; Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 120–21, 131–34, and pls. 81, 89–90; Politis, "Nouvelles données"; Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "El Escorialensis T.III.4: Un códice con las obras de Demetrio Crisoloras copiado por Josafat de Hodegos y Esteban de Midia," *Segno e testo* 3 (2005): 439–66 and pls. 1–6.

10. On the scribe Chariton I and samples of his handwriting, see Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule," 261–64 and pl. 10; Hunger and Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel," 202–203 and pls. 13 and 14; *RGK*, 2: pl. 305, no. 522.

pels on fol. 4v is informal and cursive with many abbreviations. This practice was common among the Hodegon scribes.[11] The chapter titles, prefaces to the Gospels, and lists of the Gospel readings are written in distinguishing Alexandrian majuscules, which are very similar to those of scribe John.[12]

DECORATION

The manuscript is illuminated with full-page portraits of the Evangelists Matthew (fol. 5v), Mark (fol. 89v), and Luke (fol. 145v); the portrait of John is missing (there is a lacuna of one folio between fols. 232v and 233r). The evangelists are portrayed standing; Matthew and Luke are in three-quarter profile toward the right, and Mark is in frontal position. All three portraits are painted on plain gold background without any furniture or landscape and are framed with a double narrow blue band decorated with small knots protruding from the border. Each evangelist holds an open book with the beginning of his Gospel and a pen. The names of the evangelists are written in large letters in red ink. The evangelists' garments are painted in brown with mauve tint and blue colors. Each portrait was executed on the last verso of a quire. Since the portraits were not executed on inserted folios, the scribe and artist must have collaborated closely. [13]

Each Gospel opens with a squat pi-shaped headpiece and a decorated initial. The frames of the headpieces display the

11. On the digraphism of the Hodegon scribes, see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue … Part III," 115–19; Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "A New Manuscript Copied by Gennadios of the Hodegon Monastery (New York, Union Theological Seminary, MS 69): A Case Study of Digraphism" (forthcoming).

12. *RGK*, 3:pl. 178.

13. These portraits have been analyzed and attributed to the first half of the fourteenth century by Hans Belting, "Stilzwang und Stilwahl in einem byzantinischen Evangeliar in Cambridge," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975): 215–44 at 239–44 and figs. 18 and 20.

same color and knot-motif as the miniatures' frames and were obviously executed by the same artist. Each headpiece
80 has a narrow blue band decorated with single, double, and triple knots protruding from the corners and edges. The background of all the headpieces is gold. The field of the first headpiece on fol. 6r is undivided and decorated with curving vines and elegant stylized vegetal and floral ornamentation in blue and red colors with some white. The field of the second headpiece on fol. 90r is divided into rhombs and triangles filled with knots and stylized flowers (fig. 2). The colors are the same as in the first headpiece. The field of the third headpiece on fol. 146r is decorated with ornaments that are apparently replacements for the flaked or damaged originals. This replacement decoration is of lower quality and differs in content, composition, and palette from the other three headpieces. There are two large birds, probably owls, in the side fields, and two large roosters in the top field; the roosters are facing each other and drinking from some source of water. The colors (gold for the background, light brown for the bodies of the birds, and orange-red for the roosters' combs) are applied with rough strokes. A small segment of the original blue division line is visible in the upper left corner, suggesting that the original ornaments were similar to those in the second headpiece. The decoration of the fourth headpiece on fol. 233r is very similar to the first headpiece on fol. 6r. The initials B (fol. 6r), A (fol. 90r), and E (fols. 146r and 233r) are decorated with the same colors and the same motifs as the original headpieces.

Chapter numbers and titles, as well as lectionary equipment, are executed by the scribe himself and written in the margins in magenta ink (ἀρχή and τέλος are inserted in the text). In the top left corner of each verso, there is the abbreviated name of an evangelist written by the scribe in magenta ink.

COLOPHON

None.

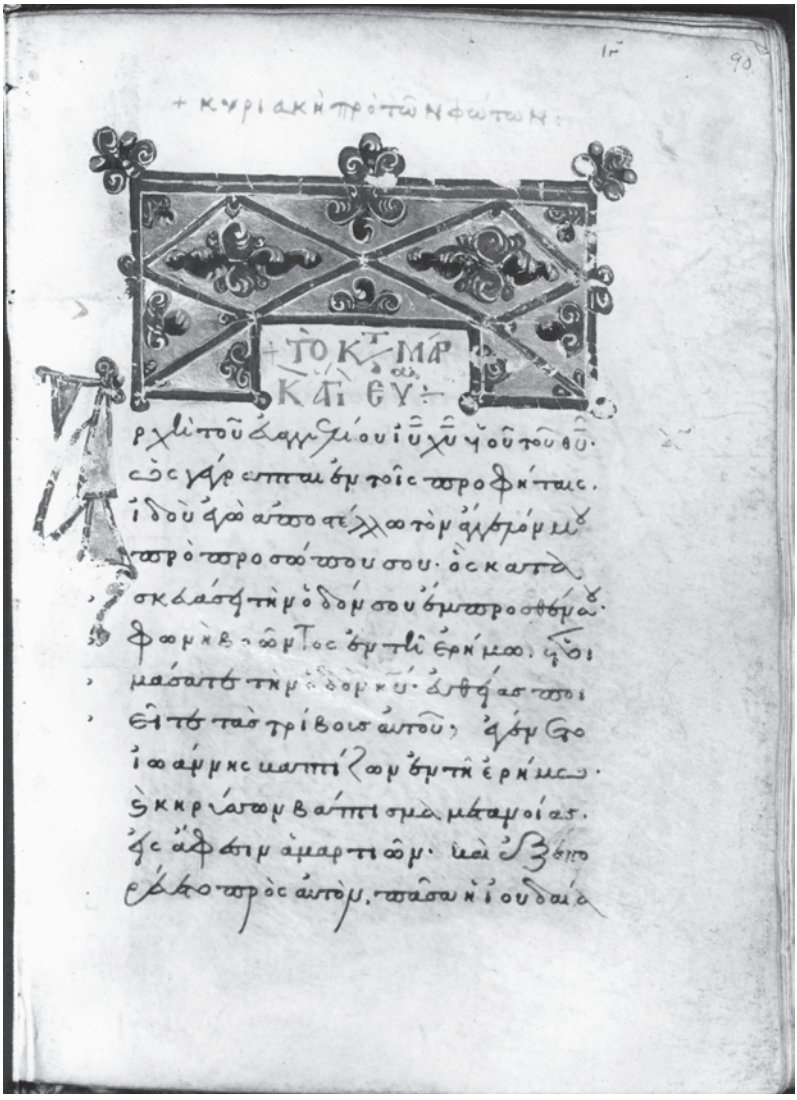

Figure 2.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.340, fol. 90r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

There are two sixteenth-century notes written by the son of a John Sklabos of Crete.[14] Both notes were written in 1554, and either the father or his anonymous son probably owned the manuscript at the time. The first note, in black ink, was written on the front cover pastedown: "1554. | ἐγέγονεν ἡ θανὴ τοῦ πατέρα μου | κύρι Ἰω(άνν)ου" (1554. My father, *kyr* John, died).[15] The second note, by the same hand and in the same black ink, appears on fol. 304v: "† ἐκοιμήθη Ἰω(άνν)ης ὁ Σκλάβος καὶ Κρὴς ὁ μακαρίτης ἐν ἔτει ,ζξγ' | ἐν μηνὶ Σεπτε(μ)βρί(ῳ) ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ ὥρᾳ ἐννάτῃ ἰνδικτιῶν(ος) ιβ'" (the late John Sklabos from Crete passed away in the year 7063 [= AD 1554], in the month of September, on Sunday, in the ninth hour, of the twelfth indiction). In 1929 this note was translated into French, and the translation was written in pencil under the original note on fol. 304v. The French translation is incomplete and contains some errors—notably, the year of John Sklabos's death was reported to be 1555, which is incorrect for the September of *anno mundi* 7063, and the name of John Sklabos was translated as "Jean le Slavon," which was rendered into English in the internal file as "John the Slav." The latter mistake was repeated in several publications (see BIBLIOGRAPHY).

BINDING

Greek binding; red velvet over thick (10 mm.) grooved wooden boards with original parchment pastedowns on both sides. The front cover has silver repoussé decoration: the scene of the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St.

14. Four persons are known with the last name Sklabos who lived in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, three of whom were from Crete. They may have belonged to the same family, of which it is possible John Sklabos and his son were members. See Erich Trapp et al., eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1976–96), 11:nos. 26,099–102.

15. The Greek word "κύρ" is difficult to translate precisely. The closest English equivalents are "sir" or "lord."

John the Theologian is in the middle, and the four symbols of the evangelists are in roundels in the corners. From the top left corner clockwise, the symbols are an eagle (marked Ἰω<άνν>η<ς> for John), a man (marked Μ<ατθαῖος> for Matthew), a calf (marked Λ<ουκᾶς> for Luke), and a lion (marked Μ<ά>ρ<κος> for Mark).[16] Each symbolic figure holds a Gospel book. The roundels are connected by a wide silver border with fretsaw-style ornamentation (the top piece is missing). The back cover is decorated with metal bosses, oblong in the corners and round on the sides (the top left and center bosses are missing). The top metal clasp is intact, and the bottom clasp is missing (only an anchoring piece is left). The manuscript is sewn at five stations. The end bands consist of alternating red, white, and light green threads. These tricolor end bands, which are similar to those in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Suppl. gr. 467, were employed in the sixteenth century.[17] Thus, M.340 was rebound most likely in sixteenth-century Crete.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The scribe displays a number of distinctive elements of the early Hodegon writing style and his script is similar to the handwriting of several scribes of the Hodegon Monastery (see SCRIPT). M.340 was very probably, therefore, produced in this famous Constantinopolitan monastery in the first half of the fourteenth century.

In the sixteenth century the manuscript belonged to the Sklabos family of Crete. Two notes written by the son of a John Sklabos give the date of the father's death as 1554. It

16. This pairing of evangelist and symbol was proposed by St. Jerome and became customary after the late twelfth century: see Nelson, 15–53; and Alexander P. Kazhdan et al eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991), 2:762.

17. *Les Tranchefiles brodées: Étude historique et technique* (Paris, 1989), 60 (modèle no. 20).

is not possible to know if a member of the Sklabos family commissioned the manuscript from the Hodegon monastery, or if Hodegon monks, fleeing Constantinople after the destruction of the monastery in 1467, brought this Gospel book with them to Crete.[18]

In the twentieth century the manuscript was owned by Edward H. Lowe. It was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan at the Lowe sale (New York, Anderson Auction Company, May 21, 1908, lot no. 279).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson Galleries, Inc., *Catalogue of an Exceptional Collection of Books Including the Library of the Late Edward H. Lowe, Esq. …* (New York, 1908), cat. no. 279;[19] *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition*, 32, pl. 57, cat. no. 61 (attributes MS to s.xiii); De Ricci, 2:1429–30 (attributes MS to s.xiii); Clark, 149–50. (attributes MS to s.xii); The Pierpont Morgan Library, *The Written Word: Inscriptions, Texts, and Illuminated Manuscripts from 3200 B.C. to the Invention of Printing in the XVth Century. Hand List of an Exhibition Held December 14, 1944 to April 14, 1945* (New York, 1945), 44 (attributes MS to ca. 1200 and proposes the "vicinity of Constantinople" as place of production); Miner, 142, cat. no. 721, pl. CII (attributes MS to ca. 1200); David Sandler Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible* (Waltham, Mass., 1968), 29, cat. no. 48 and pl. 48 (attributes MS to ca. 1200; gives name of sixteenth-century owner as "John the Slav"); Bella Bessard, "L'An 1200 du roman au gothique," *Plaisir de France* (March 1970), 18–27 at 19 and pl. 4; Konrad Hoff-

18. It is known, for example, that at least one of the Hodegon scribes, John Plusiadenos, went to Crete after the fall of Constantinople; see Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule," 278–80.

19. A description of our manuscript cut out from this catalogue is now glued to the back cover pastedown.

mann, ed., *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 12 through May 10, 1970,* 2 vols. (New York, 1970), 1:295–60, cat. no. 289 (attributes MS to 1200–1220); Hans Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 70 n. 238, and "Stilzwang und Stilwahl in einem byzantinischen Evangeliar in Cambridge," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975): 215–44 at 239–44 and figs. 18 and 20 (attributes MS to s.xiv[1]).

MS M.350[20]

Anastasimatarion and Anthology, with late Byzantine notation s.xvi[ex]–s.xvii[1/4]

CONTENTS

Fols. 1r–v: blank.

1. fols. 2r–102v: *Anastasimatarion* in eight modes. Title (fol. 2r): Ἀρχ(ὴ) σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ ἁγίω (sic) τῶν ἀναστασίμων καθὸς (sic) ψάλλονται ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσ(ῃ) τῶν πόλεων κατοίχων (sic; scil. κατ᾽ἤχων or κατ᾽ἦχον). ἀρχὴ τοῦ α~ου ἤχου. Subtitle (fol. 2r): Ἦχος α᾽. Inc. (fol. 2r): Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχὰς πρόσδεξαι ἅγιε Κύριε ... ; Expl. (fol. 102v): ... καὶ καταξίωσον πάντας μόνε οἰκτήρμων (sic) τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλεία(ς) σοῦ.
   Lacuna between fols. 26v and 27r: Expl. mut. (fol. 26v): … τὴν φωνὴν σοὶ προσάγωμεν τοῦ λησταῦ καὶ δεόμεθα//; Inc. mut. (fol. 27r): //μνήσθητι ἡμῶν σωτὴρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σοῦ ... .

20. I thank Dr. Svetlana Kujumdzieva of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences for identifying the contents and musical notation of this manuscript.

Anastasimatarion neon, argon kai syntomon: Periechon ta Anastasima tou Hesperinou, Orthrou kai Leitourgias …
86 (Constantinople, 1914).

Fols. 103r–v: blank.

2. fols. 104r–204v: Anthology of troparia, antiphona, stichera, and hirmoi for the great feasts such as Christmas and Good Friday; ascribed to John of Damascus. Title (fol. 104r): Τροπάρι(α) ψαλλόμενα τῇ παραμονῇ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεν(έσεως) ... . Ποίημα Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Δαμασκηνου. Inc. (fol. 104r): Βηθλεέμ, ἑτοιμάζου, εὐτρεπιζέσθω ... ; Expl. (fol. 204v): ... τῷ δε κόσμῳ δωρούμενος ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.[21]

Fols. 205r–v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Paper, fols. 205, plus six original paper flyleaves (two at the beginning, with only the first flyleaf foliated *i*, and four at the end, foliated 206–209); the same paper was used for both pastedowns (back cover pastedown foliated 210); 155 x 102/103 mm. (one col.; written surface 100 x 55 mm.). Written in 22 lines (11 lines of text alternating with 11 lines of musical notation), occasionally written in 24 lines (12 lines of text and 12 lines of musical notation); interlinear space 9 mm. (between text lines) and 4.5 mm. (between a text line and a correlated line of musical notation). On each verso, faint ruling in dry point for double justification lines (no horizontal lines for script). Twenty-six quires; collation: $1–3^8$ 4^8 (-3, with loss of text) $5–13^8$ 14^8 (-1, no loss of text) $15–25^8$ 26^8 (-8, no loss of text). Only the first thirteen quires, which contain the *Anastasimatarion*, were signed by the scribe in

21. Texts can be found at http://analogion.net/glt.

red ink in the middle of the bottom margin of the first recto of each quire.

Paper is of good quality, medium thick, smooth, and ivory white. Most folios have a watermark "crossbow" in a circle with letters G and Z (Z is in the shape of the numeral 3), identical to Briquet "arbalète" 755 (Venice, 1592; var. Vicenza, 1594) and a close variant of Stanković "arbalète" 26 and 27 (1600–1615).[22] The chain lines are vertical, spaced 30 mm. apart; the laid lines are horizontal, 17 on 20 mm. (20 in 28 mm.). A few folios (e.g., 72–73) have a watermark "anchor" in a circle with a trefoil on the top; similar watermarks are found in Stanković, 344–80 (mostly from the first quarter of the seventeenth century).[23] The chain lines for this paper are vertical, spaced 32 mm. apart; the laid lines are horizontal, 18 on 20 mm.

SCRIPT

One scribe, whose script is the small-sized, vertical cursive of the time; some letters (especially zeta, open theta, and majuscule epsilon) are enlarged. The strokes are reduced, and the script has a squat aspect as is common in manuscripts with musical notation. Ink of the text and of the musical notation is charcoal black or black; supplementary musical signs and titles are in red ink.

DECORATION

One small, pen-executed rectangular headpiece on fol. 2r., decorated with simple ornaments and large finials. The headpiece was executed with light brown ink and darker

22. Radoman Stanković, *Filigranološki opis i album grčkih rukopisa XV–XIX veka: Centar za slovensko-vizantijska proučavanja "prof. Ivan Dujčev" = La Description des filigranes et l'album des manuscrits grecs XV–XIX siècle du Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Prof. Ivan Dujčev"* (Sofia, 2006), 169.

23. Ibid., 249–57.

brown ink of the text. Throughout the manuscript are numerous elaborately pen-ornamented and disproportionately large initials in bright red and light brown ink. The decoration was apparently executed by the scribe himself.

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

BINDING

Original Greek binding. Very dark brown, blind-stamped leather placed over wooden boards (6 mm. thick). Wallet edge type: back cover leather is extended into a flap with two narrow wooden planks glued to the leather and covered with a blue cloth on the inside; the flap folds over the fore edge and locks with a metal clasp on the front to form an envelope-shaped binding.[24] These envelope-shaped bindings were common in Islamic manuscripts and were sometimes used in Greek bindings, apparently as a result of Islamic influence. The manuscript is sewn at three stations. End bands are made of bicolor (red and white) thread. The title of the manuscript, *Anastasima and Hours,* is written on the top and bottom fore edges: ἈΝΑΣΤΑΣΗΜΑ | ΚΑΙ ΏΡΕΣ (sic; sc. ὥρες = ὥραι).[25]

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The manuscript was produced in the end of the sixteenth or the first quarter of the seventeenth century, as watermarks indicate. It was probably copied in a Greek monastery, possibly on Mount Athos as was suggested by Oliver Strunk,

24. Jane Greenfield, *ABC of Bookbinding* (New York, 1998), 74.

25. In the internal file for M.350 "ΚΑΙ ΏΡΕΣ" was mistakenly identified as the name of an owner of the manuscript.

who linked M.350 with Mount Athos, Xenophontos Monastery, MS 128.[26] But this linkage is problematic. Xenophontos 128 was executed in 1671, later than M.350. Also, the Xenophontos codex is of higher quality than M.350 and displays an elaborate illumination, which includes finely executed miniatures. Furthermore, the scribe of the Morgan codex does not mention the names of composers, whereas the scribe of the Xenophontos codex refers to specific composers, notably Chrysaphes the Younger (active in Constantinople 1655–80).[27]

Morgan M.350 once belonged to Guglielmo Libri; sold (London, Sotheby's, March 31, 1859) to Stewart; purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from Guiseppe Martini, a bookdealer, in 1909.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Splendid Manuscripts, Chiefly upon Vellum, in Various Languages of Europe and the East, Formed by M. Guglielmo Libri (London, 1859–64), 121, cat. no. 543; De Ricci, 2:1431 (incorrectly identifies MS as *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*).

MS M.378

The Four Gospels (Aland 2383), end missing
Constantinople, s.xii^{m}

26. This information is taken from the internal file for the manuscript. Strunk was a professor of music at Princeton University (1928–37) There is no evidence to support an alternate hypothesis, also in the internal file, that this manuscript was produced in Russia. Furthermore, according to Dr. Svetlana Kujumdzieva, neither this kind of manuscript nor this kind of musical notation was known in Russia at that time.

27. On Xenophontos 128, see Gregorios Th. Stathes, *Ta Cheirographa Byzantines Mousikes: Hagion Oros* (Athens, 1975), 57–68 (with plates).

CONTENTS

Fol. 1r: originally blank; a librarian's note in pencil: "M.378.
90 Gospels, in Greek, XIII century, possibly written and decorated at Mt. Athos." Below this is an indecipherable note in modern Greek.

Fol. 1v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Matthew.

1. fols. 2r–66v: The Gospel of Matthew, end missing. Title (fol. 2r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Inc. (fol. 2r): Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ὡς γέγραπται ... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 67v): … τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας.// (Matthew 27:66).

   Lacuna of five folios between fols. 66v and 67r: missing are the end of chapter 27, the entire chapter 28, a preface to the Gospel of Mark, and a list of chapter titles for Mark.

   NTG, 1–116.

Fol. 67r: blank.

Fol. 67v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Mark.

2. fols. 68r–116v: The Gospel of Mark. Title (fol. 68r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον. Inc. (fol. 68r): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... ; Expl. (fol. 116v): ... διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. Ἀμήν.[28]

   NTG, 117–92.

Fol. 117r: blank.

Fol. 117v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Luke.

28. This is a long conclusion of the Gospel (see n. 5 above).

3. fols. 118r–198r: The Gospel of Luke. Title (fol. 118r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν. Inc. (fol. 118r): Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ... ; Expl. (fol. 198r): ... αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Θ(εό)ν. 91

   NTG, 193–311.

4. fol. 198v (lns. 1–14): List of Chapter Titles for the Gospel of John (1–18, numbered α'–θ' and ια'–ιθ'). Title: Τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια. Inc.: α' Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου … ; Expl.: ιθ' Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος.

   Soden, 411.

5. fol. 198v (lns. 15–18): Preface to the Gospel of John. No title. Inc.: Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τοῖς χρό(νοις) Τραιανοῦ ... ; Expl.: ... καὶ ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ γενεά(ν).

   Soden, 311; Nelson, 8.

Fol. 199r: blank.

Fol. 199v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist John.

5. fols. 200r–219v: The Gospel of John, end missing. Title (fol. 200r): Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Inc. (fol. 200r): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος... ; Expl. mut. (fol. 219v): … εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ//<τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος> (John 7:38).

   NTG, 312–406.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 219, one original parchment flyleaf in the beginning (torn at the upper right corner); 283/284 x 210/214

mm. (one col.; written surface 190 x 137 mm.). Written in 20–21 lines, interlinear space 9–10 mm. Ruled Leroy B 32C1 and 30C1. Ruling system Leroy 1. Ruled with thin dry point; horizontal lines are quite faint. Pricking is in the shape of medium sized triangles. Twenty-eight quires (according to the non-scribal signatures); collation: $1–8^8$ 9^6 (originally ternion; -2, 3, 4, 5, 6, with loss of text; + inserted miniature) $10–15^8$ 16^8 (-2, probably with loss of a preface and a list of chapter titles for Luke; + inserted miniature) $17–25^8$ 26^8 (+ inserted miniature) $27–28^8$. The original flyleaf and folio 1 probably formed an opening quire, a ternion: there are four stubs visible between these folios, and the first miniature is glued to the fifth stub (all four miniatures are on inserted folios). This opening quire probably contained some prefatory material and a list of chapter titles for Matthew. At the end of the manuscript several quires with the end of the Gospel of John are now lost. Quires are signed in the upper right corner of the first recto and in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire. The signatures are apparently non-scribal and written in brown ink, not the black ink of the text. Parchment of mediocre quality, thick, warped, with some scalloping. The flesh side is ivory-white; the hair side is yellowish. Traces of hair follicles are still visible on many folios, especially at the end of the manuscript. Small water stains on the outer margins of some folios. Small square pieces of silk cloth with an oriental ornament are glued to the outer margin of some folios. These pieces of silk apparently served as page markers, some of which are now lost or damaged by moths or book worms.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is formal and controlled, bold, almost upright with a slight inclination to the right, rounded, and somewhat squat with boxy letters (fig. 3). The upper and lower strokes of most letters are reduced. Some letters are enlarged, especially zeta, phi, psi, the closed form of theta, upsilon in the shape of a shallow bowl, heart-

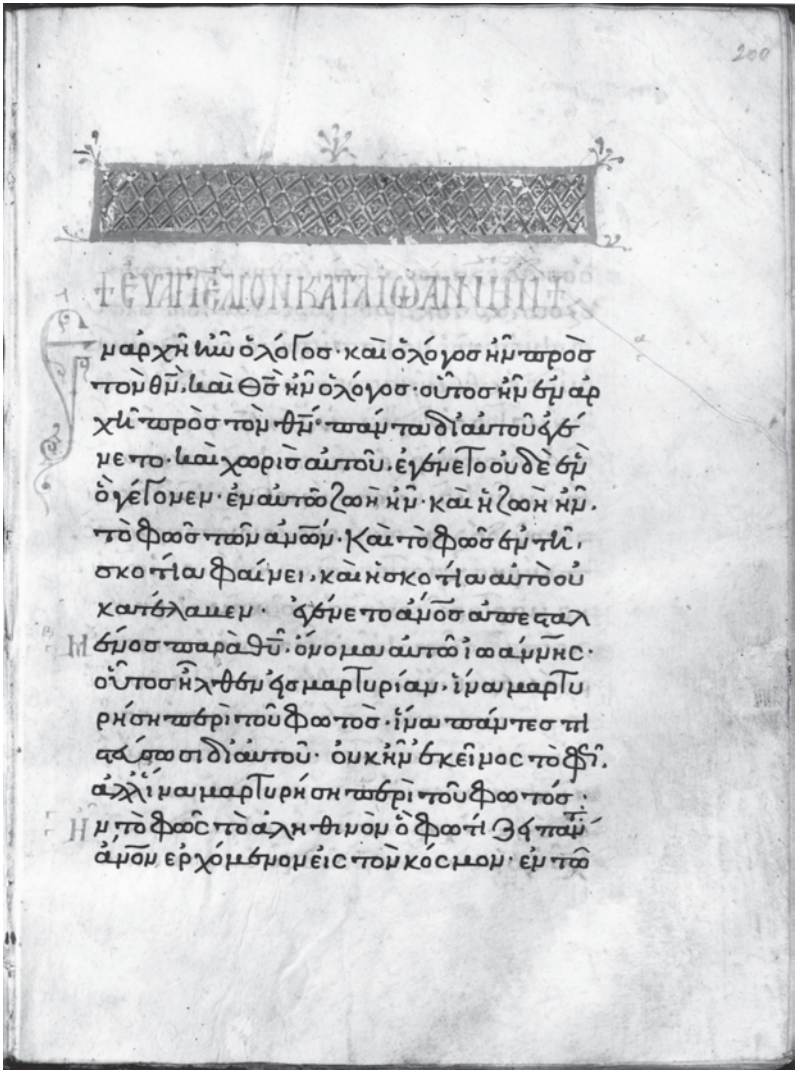

Figure 3.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.378, fol. 200r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

shaped majuscule beta, and majuscule kappa. Tall gamma and tau each have a long horizontal stroke, which curves upward on the right side. Ink is black, and the kalamos is thick. The chapter titles in the margins, the list of chapter titles for John, and the preface to John are written in Alexandrian distinguishing majuscule in light magenta ink.

The script can be characterized as late *Perlschrift* with some elements of the Chicago-Karahissar style (also called epsilon-style).[29] These elements are evident in the deliberate juxtaposition of the normal-sized and enlarged letters, as well as in the forms of ligatures, such as alpha-open theta, alpha-open phi, and lambda-open theta. In each case the horizontal stroke, which connects the two letters, is elongated and positioned at a straight angle to the body of the first letter. Another Chicago-Karahissar feature is the occasionally enlarged majuscule epsilon with elongated middle bar, which touches the following letter.

I have identified the scribe of M.378 as the anonymous copyist who executed Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 24 (The Four Gospels).[30] The two manuscripts display identical forms of all letters and ligatures and the same thick kalamos and black ink. The Oxford codex is of higher quality and was apparently decorated by an artist other than that of M.378. Moreover, headpieces and zoomorphic ini-

29. On the Chicago-Karahissar group of manuscripts and writing style, see Boris L. Fonkič, "*Scriptoria* bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 17–19 (1980–82): 73–118 at 108–112; Paul Canart, "Les Écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XIe siècle au milieu du XIIIe et le style palestino-chypriote 'epsilon,'" *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 (1981): 17–76; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 39–81, and *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago, 1987).

30. On Christ Church gr. 24, see *CBM*, 4:99–106, cat. no. 36, color pl. 5 and figs. 483–502 (the manuscript is attributed to the end of the thirteenth century).

tials in the Oxford codex were very probably executed by the same artist who decorated the famous Nazianzos codex, Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS gr. 339.[31] The Sinai codex was commissioned by Joseph Hagioglykerites, abbot of the imperial Pantocrator-Logos Monastery in Constantinople, and was donated by him to the Monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Hagia Glykeria. Jeffrey Anderson persuasively argues that Joseph was the first abbot of the Pantocrator Monastery, which was established in 1136 (therefore signifying 1136 as the *terminus post quem* for St. Catherine's gr. 339); the death of Joseph in ca. 1155 establishes the *terminus ante quem* for this codex. On stylistic grounds Anderson attributes St. Catherine's gr. 339 to the middle of the twelfth century and affirms that the manuscript was produced in one of the Constantinopolitan ateliers, but probably not in the Pantocrator Monastery itself.[32]

I conclude that M.378 and Christ Church gr. 24 were copied by the same scribe and that Christ Church gr. 24 and St. Catherine's gr. 339 were decorated by the same artist. Thus, the three manuscripts were most likely produced in the same atelier in Constantinople at about the same time in the middle of the twelfth century.

There are several other manuscripts that display script and/or decoration similar to those of M.378. For example, comparable script is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 449, which was copied by Manuel Boukellarios Hagiostephanites in 1153.[33] Further-

31. On this manuscript, see Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 167–85; Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 140–53, cat. no. 56, color pls. 21–25 and figs. 468–586.

32. Anderson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," 169.

33. The two scripts are not, however, identical. For example, the scribe of M.378 does not connect majuscule epsilon with the following letters

more, three undated manuscripts display a striking similarity in script as well as in decoration to the Morgan codex: Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 26; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 51 and MS Suppl. gr. 1258. This group was identified by Ioannis Spatharakis and includes several other manuscripts (see DECORATION).[34]

DECORATION

The manuscript is illuminated with four full-page portraits of the Evangelists Matthew (fol. 1v), Mark (fol. 67v), Luke (fol. 117v), and John (fol. 199v). The miniatures are in a poor state of preservation due to pigment flaking; fortunately, the faces of the evangelists are preserved quite well. The evangelists are portrayed seated; Matthew, Mark, and Luke are in three-quarter profile toward the right; Matthew and Luke are writing; and Mark is reposing. John's body is in the same position as the other evangelists, but he is looking up over his right shoulder toward the Hand of God pictured in the upper left corner on the segment of the sky. The portraits are painted on gold background. Each evangelist is seated under an arch; three arches are scalloped (Matthew, Mark, and John), and one is plain (Luke). The spandrels are filled with alternating red and blue crosslets (Matthew and Mark), rinceaux (Luke), and crenellated lozenges (John). The first two arches (Matthew and Mark) have a narrow red frame and are supported by narrow columns. These

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as often as Manuel. On Barb. gr. 449 and for samples of its script, see Canart, "Les Écritures livresques," 34 and pl. 2; Weyl Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts," figs. 27 and 28, and *Byzantine Illumination*, 285; Ernst Gamillscheg, "Fragen zur Lokalisierung der Handschriften der Gruppe 2400," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987): 313–21 at 315–16 and pls. 1, 11, 12; *RGK*, 3:pl. 227, no. 408; and Paul Canart, André Jacob, Santo Lucà, and Lidia Perria, eds., *Facsimili di codici greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Exempla scripturarum, 5 (Vatican City, 1998), 60.

34. Ioannis Spatharakis, "A Dove Whispers in the Ear of the Evangelist," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999): 267–88.

miniatures have a narrow red bottom border on which the columns are standing. The portrait of Luke has a double narrow red border and in between a white zigzagging line and a field filled with small blue triangles. The portrait of John has a triple narrow frame in red, gold, and white; the gold field is filled with white and blue dots. All four miniatures are decorated with simple red, red and green, or red and blue tendril-shaped finials. The furniture is disproportionately large, as was noted by Spatharakis, and is painted in brown with some bright red or blue colors. The cushions are bright red. The floor in the first two miniatures is painted bright turquoise-green and is dark green in the other two miniatures. Matthew, Luke, and John hold a pen and an open book with the beginning of their respective Gospels; Mark holds a pen, but the book is omitted. The name of each evangelist is written under the arch in small majuscule letters in red ink. The evangelists' garments are painted in blue and light ochre (Matthew and Mark), blue and gray (Luke), and lavender and light green (John) colors. The portraits were executed on the verso (hair side) of inserted folios.

Each Gospel opens with a headpiece and a decorated initial. The headpieces display the same palette and tendril-shaped finials as the miniatures and were obviously executed by the same artist. The first headpiece on fol. 3r consists of a wide rectangular frame with red (outer) and blue (inner) borders. The field of the frame has a gold background and is divided into small rhombs with blue and brown lines; each rhomb contains a small petal in red, dark red, and pink colors. The blank inner field of the headpiece displays a title of the Gospel of Matthew written in large distinguishing "*epigraphische* majuscules" in light magenta ink. Three other headpieces are simple narrow rectangles divided in smaller fields, which are square (for the Gospel of Mark) and rhombic (for the Gospels of Luke and John). The titles, in large distinguishing "*epigraphische* majuscules" in light magenta ink, are placed under the headpieces. The fields

have gold backgrounds and are filled with stylized rinceaux decoration reminiscent of Kufic letters (Mark) or geometric ornaments (Luke and John) (fig. 3). In both the miniatures and headpieces the artist employed distinctive red vermilion and sky-blue pigments that are often found in the manuscripts from the Chicago-Karahissar group. Only the first initial B was decorated, but the pigments are now entirely flaked. Three other major initials are modestly pen-ornamented with light magenta ink. Minor initials are in the same light magenta ink and are not ornamented.

Chapter titles and numbers, as well as Ammonian section and Eusebian canon numbers, are written in the margins in light magenta ink by the scribe.

A more detailed description and analysis of M.378's decoration was made by the art historian Ioannis Spatharakis,[35] who linked the Morgan codex to a small but cohesive group of six manuscripts produced probably in the middle of the twelfth century. As was stated above (see SCRIPT), three manuscripts of this group are especially closely related to the Morgan codex: Christ Church gr. 26; Paris gr. 51; and Paris Suppl. gr. 1258. Three other related manuscripts are: Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, MS gr. 953; Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS gr. 157; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Suppl. gr. 52. Because of the strikingly similar composition, design, palette, and ornamental motifs of the miniatures, especially the rare detail of a dove whispering in the ear of the evangelist, Spatharakis concluded that the seven manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium. The Morgan codex, however, does not have a dove in any of its miniatures. And only one of the seven manuscripts, St. Catherine's gr. 157, has a scribal colophon, which confirms that this codex was copied on Patmos by the monk John for Theoktistos, the hegoumenos of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian between 1127 and 1158.

35. Spatharakis, "A Dove Whispers," 272–74.

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

On the recto of the flyleaf there are short lection notes in charcoal ink written by a later hand. There are also two post-Byzantine notes, apparently monastic. One note is on the blank fol. 117r, partially written in monocondylion: "Ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡγούμενος Χριστοφόρος καὶ οἱ <δὲ?> σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφοὶ" (Hieromonk and hegoumenos Christopher and all my brothers in Christ). The second note is lengthier and chronicles the ordinations of priests. Occupying the outer margin of fol. 135v and containing numerous iotacisms, the note is hard to read: "1709. Ἐν μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίου εἴκοσιν ἐχειροτονήθη ὁ Διονύσιος ἐκ τοῦ Μεθοδίου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀλεξίου ... " (1709. On October 20 Dionysios, son of Alexios, was ordained by Methodios …).[36]

BINDING

Greek binding. Sixteenth-century black morocco over thick (8 to 10 mm.) wooden boards; blind-tooled with multiple rectangular borders, small rosettes, and interlace patterns; a cross in the middle of the front cover with letters IC XC (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) and N K (Νίκα); and three interlace rhombs on the back cover.[37] The manuscript is sewn at six stations. On both covers there are paper pastedowns taken from an early printed Greek *Menaion*. End bands are Greek; threads are not colored. Both clasps are missing; the leather straps are glued to the inside of the back cover. Both metal pins on the front cover fore edge are also missing.

36. Spelling has been corrected.

37. Both De Ricci, 2:1436, and Clark, 151, proposed (with question marks) that the binding is Venetian. I am not able to confirm or reject this proposition.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic features, as well as similarities in script and decoration with several securely dated or datable manuscripts discussed above, indicate that M.378 was executed around the middle of the twelfth century.

Spatharakis convincingly argued that M.378 was produced in the same scriptorium as the six closely related manuscripts he identified (see decoration section). Because some of these manuscripts have high-quality illumination, Spatharakis concluded that the scriptorium was located in Constantinople and not in the provinces, even though one of the manuscripts of the group, St. Catherine's gr. 157, was copied on Patmos according to the colophon.[38]

My identification of the scribe of M.378 as the anonymous copyist of Christ Church gr. 24 strongly supports Spatharakis's localization. Because Christ Church gr. 24 was almost certainly decorated by the same artist as the deluxe codex St. Catherine's gr. 339, these and other closely related manuscripts, including M.378, were very likely executed in a major Constantinopolitan scriptorium/atelier, where many scribes and artists worked closely and interchangeably to produce high quality manuscripts commissioned by wealthy clientele. Although M.378 is more modestly executed, it is a valuable illuminated Gospel book that was probably commissioned by a well-to-do but not wealthy patron for personal use or for donation to a monastery.[39]

In the post-Byzantine period M.378 was in a Greek monastery, where hieromonk and hegoumenos Christopher wrote a short note on fol. 117r. Another note (fol. 135v) mentions the ordination (*cheirotonia*) of a certain Dionysios in 1709.

The manuscript was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from the bookseller Ludovic Badin in 1909.

38. Spatharakis, "A Dove Whispers," 286.

39. The internal file proposes Mount Athos as a possible place of execution. However, there is no evidence to support this proposition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Ricci, 2:1436 (attributes MS to s.xiii); Clark, 151–52 (attributes MS to s.xiii–s.xiv); Ioannis Spatharakis, "A Dove Whispers in the Ear of the Evangelist," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999): 267–88 at 272–74 and figs.1, 7, 13, 20, and 30 (attributes MS to s.xii^{m}).

MS M.397

Miscellany (a collection of narratives and fables)
Italy, Calabria-Campania or Lazio regions, s.x$^{4/4}$–s.xi$^{1/4}$

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–7v: *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (a Greek version of **Bidpai**, *Kalilah and Dimnah*), fragment.[40] No title. Inc. (fol. 1r): Ἐρεῖτε οὖν μοι ἐντολῆς τί βελτίον ... ; Expl. (fol. 7v): ... λαλούντων δὲ ταῦτα ἀπεκρίθη ὁ λαὸς λέγων "Ἀμήν, ὅ ἐστιν γένοιτο."

   Elinor Husselman, *A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah from ms. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* Studies and Documents, 10 (London, 1939), 26–35.

2. fols. 8r–21v: *Physiologos* (chapters 1–48). Title (fol. 8r): Σὺν θ(ε)ῷ βίβλος φυσιολογικῆ (sic). Subtitle (fol. 8r): Πε(ρὶ) φύσεως λέοντος. Inc. (fol. 8r): Ἄρξωμαι λαλῆσαι περὶ τοῦ λέοντος ... ; Expl. (fol. 21v): ... μετὰ τέχνης ἀπατηλῆς τρόγοντας (sic) κόκκολους (sic) καλοῦσιν.

   F. Sbordone, *Physiologus (redactio prima)* (Milan, 1936; repr. Hildesheim, 1976): 1–145 (chapters 1–8, 27–29, 11–

40. The Greek translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* from Arabic in M.397 is different from the translation made by Symeon Seth in the second half of the eleventh century.

14, 16, 30–31, 33, 32, 39, 36, 25–26, 18, 17, 19–20, 9–10, 15, 21–24, 35, 35a, 38, 37, 42–47, 40–41[41]; Dieter Offermanns,

Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 22 (Meisenheim-am-Glan, 1966).

3. fols. 22r–67v: *Vita Aesopi*. Title (fol. 22r): Βίβλος Ξάνθο(υ) φιλοσόφου καὶ Αἰσώπου δούλου αὐτ(οῦ). Περὶ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς (sic) Αἰσώπου. Inc. (fol. 22r): Ὁ μὲν τύχην δούλος τῷ δὲ γένει Φρὺξ τῆς Φρυγίας ... ; Expl. (fol. 67v): ... καὶ Σάμιοι ἐξεδίκησαν τὸν τοῦ Αἰσώπου θάνατον.

In addition, there is a concluding passage to the *Vita Aesopi* surrounded with a simple frame (fol. 67v): Αἰσώπου γέννα ἀνατροφή προκοπή καὶ ἀποβίωσις. Τὰ μετ᾽ εὐκολίας εὑρισκόμενα καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα πολλοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

Lacuna: between fols. 30v (expl. mut.: ... οἱ σχολαστικοὶ θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν γελάσαντα καὶ//) and 31r (inc. mut.: //<φέρε> οὖν, ἐπιγνῶ εἰ οἶδέν τι …).

Ben Edwin Perry, *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name* (Urbana, Ill., 1952; repr. 2007), 35–77: Vita G (e cod. 397 Bibliothecae Pierponti Morgan), recensio 3.

41. Numbers of the chapters are given as in Sbordone, but in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. Chapter 36 in Sbordone has a title different from the one in M.397 (the scribe apparently could not read the name of the animal). The *Physiologus* of M.397 also contains an additional chapter, *Περὶ κόκκικος* (sic), which is the last chapter of the *Physiologos* (fol. 21v) and was published in Dieter Offermanns, *Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 22 (Meisenheim-am-Glan, 1966), 158.

4. fols. 67v–108r (lines 1–8): **Aesop**, *Fables* (1–227). Title (fol. 67v): Αἰσώπου μύθοι κατὰστοιχείον ὠφέλιμοι. Subtitle (fol. 67v): Μύθος α'. Inc. (fol. 67v): Ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλόπηξ (sic) φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι ... ; Expl. (fol. 108r): ... ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ γυναιξὶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσδιδόναι θέλων.

   Lacunae: between fols. 77v (expl. mut.: ... κἀκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον// and 78r (inc. mut.: <τοῦ>//το δεινοπαθήσας πέλεκυν ἀνέλαβε ...)[42] and between fols. 80v (expl. mut.: … οἳ ἐν κινδύνοις οὐ παραμένουσιν.//) and 81r (inc. mut.: //πρὸς ἑαυτήν· δειλαία ἔγωγε …).

   August Hausrath and Herbert Hunger, *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*, (Leipzig, 1970), fables 1–46, 51–63, 73, 64, 66, 76–99, 101–133, 135–140, 143–166, 170–175, 177–182, a variant of 101, 183–199, 201–203, 206–208, 210–213, 215, a variant of 23, 216–226, 230, 232–236, 239, 242–244, 246, 248, 250–260, 114.1b, 52aliter.[43]

5. fols. 108r (lines 9ff.)–112v: **Valerius Babrius**, *Mythiambi Aesopici* (fables 1–31). Title (fol. 108r): Τῶν Αἰσωπίων μύθων ἰαμβοὶ. Subtitle (fol. 108r): Περὶ χεληδόνος (sic). Inc. (fol. 108r): Ἀγροῦ χελιδὼν μακρὸν ἐξεποτήθη (sic) ... ; Expl. (fol. 112v): … πρόσωπα δ' αὐτῶν ἐξέλουε καὶ κνήμας.

   Elinor Mullett Husselman, "A Lost Manuscript of the Fables of Babrius," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 66 (1935): 104–26; Ben Edwin Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 2–186 (fables 12,

42. The end of fable 46, probably the entire fables 47–50, and the beginning of fable 51 are missing.

43. Numbers of the fables are given as in Hausrath and Hunger, *Corpus,* but in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

3, 17, 142, 10, 5, 6, 9, 11, 1/13, 22, 20, 19, 27, 29, 39, 34, 35, 52, 46, 143, 61, 50, 60, 64, 67, 71, 74, 72).[44]

6. fol. 112v: **Hierokles and Philagrios**, *Philogelos* (*ἀστεῖα* 1–7). No title. Inc.: Σχολαστικοῦ ἐρωτηθέντος, πόσους ξέστας ὁ ἀμφορεὺς ἔχει … ; Expl. mut.: … Πεπανόπτωχος εἰωθὼς τὴν φίλην αὐτοῦ// <ἐξαπατᾶν>.

Andreas Thierfelder, *Philogelos: Der Lachfreund von Hierokles und Philagrios* (Munich, 1968): 28–126 (*ἀστεῖα* 265, 34g, 4g, 24ag, 29, 104, 106ag);[45] Roger D. Dawe, ed., *Philogelos* (Munich, 2000).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 112, six modern paper flyleaves, three at the beginning and three at the end (blind-stamped at the edges: VELLUM. FRANCE); 210/215 x 162/166 mm. (one col.; written surface 153/158 x 122/128 mm.). Written in 25–29 lines, interlinear space 6–7 mm. The script is mostly suspended from the ruled lines, but occasionally is positioned in between or across the lines. Ruled Leroy V 00D1 (scribe I), 00D1 (scribes II and III), and 00C1 (scribe IV). In addition, fols. 26–27, an inner bifolium of the fourth quire, have an unusual and unique ruling pattern PD2E 22E2a.[46]

44. Numbers of the fables are given as in Perry, but in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. The double number 1/13 signifies that this fable (no. 10 in the ms.) is a composite of two fables, 1 and 13 in Perry. One fable (no. 28 in the ms.) is not in Perry, but, according to Husselman, is very similar to the fable 150 in Otto Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopiae* (Leipzig, 1897). Furthermore, one fable (no. 30 in the ms.) is not found in any other manuscript. The text of this fable is published by Husselman.

45. Numbers of the *ἀστεῖα* (witty short stories) are given as in Thierfelder, but in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

46. This pattern is not registered in Jacques-Hubert Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995). The pattern has two columns, but the scribe wrote the text in one column, and he probably used a bifolium that was prepared for a different manuscript.

The first three scribes ruled the parchment without following any particular system and without regard to the flesh or hair side. The fourth scribe followed system Leroy 1. All four scribes used sharp dry point for ruling. Most of the pricking was cropped during binding, and a few small slits or triangles remain. Fifteen quires; collation: 1^8 (-1, 8, with loss of text) $2–4^8$ 5^8 (-1, with loss of text; -8, without loss of text) $6–10^8$ 11^8 (-2, 6, 7, with loss of text) $12–14^8$ 15^8 (-8, with loss of text). Quire signatures were probably cropped during binding. The parchment (goat skin) is of poor quality, medium thick to thick, warped, with some scalloping and holes. The flesh side is yellowish; the hair side yellow and brownish. Traces of hair follicles are numerous on many folios, especially at the end of the manuscript. The outer half of folio 78 was saturated probably by lamp oil, apparently spilled by scribe III during his work; on fol. 78r the text occupies the entire page, but on fol. 78v the scribe had to write around the oil stain. The scribe made considerable effort not to waste the precious (albeit poor quality) parchment, and the text follows the contour of the oil stain closely.

SCRIPT

Four scribes, all anonymous: I, fols. 1r–29v; II, fols. 30r–57v; III, fols. 58r–60v (fig. 4); IV, fols. 61r–112v (fig. 5). Their hands are all similar to one another. All are small-sized, vertical (scribes I–III) and with slight inclination to the right (scribe IV). Ink is dark brown and medium brown (scribe I); light brown (scribe II); medium brown (scribe III); dark brown and medium brown (scribe IV). Scribe III was clearly imitating scribe II and was perhaps an apprentice. All four scribes were apparently trained in the tradition of so-called "scuola niliana" ("school of Neilos").[47] This

47. Neilos of Rossano, ca. 910 (Calabria)–1004 (Grottaferrata) was a monk, a talented calligrapher, and a founder of the monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata. For examples of his handwriting and on his school

Figure 4.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.397, fol. 60r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

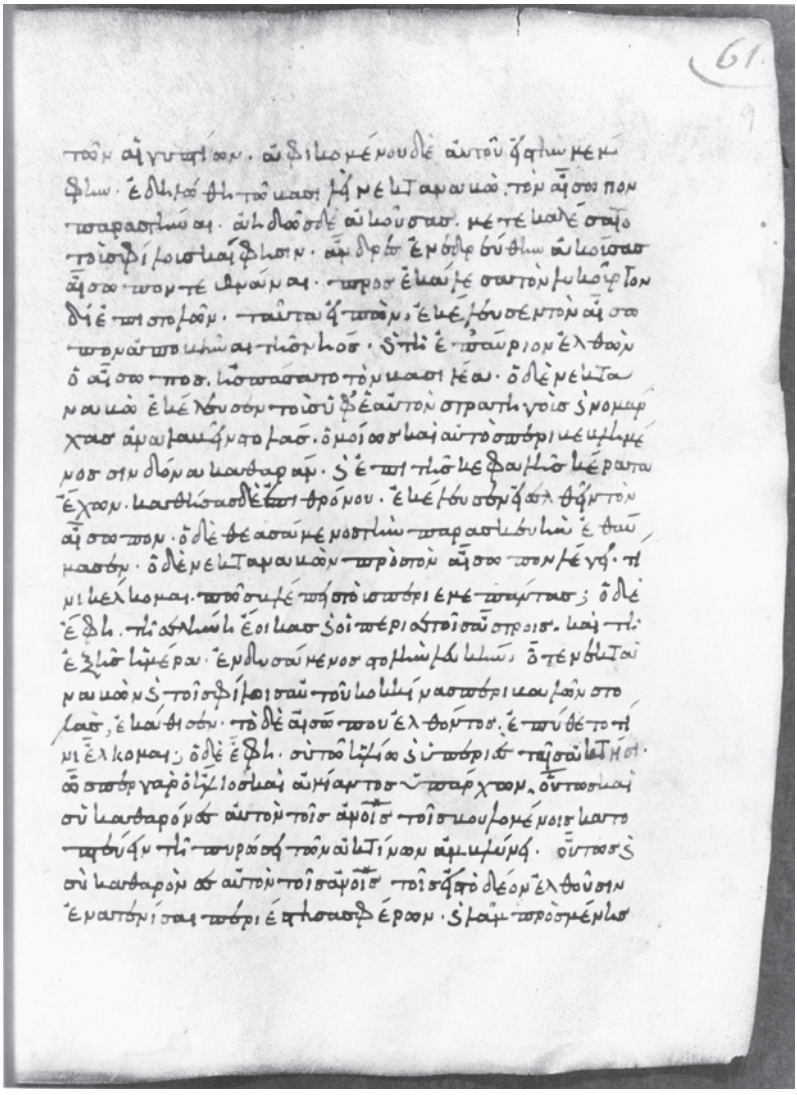

Figure 5.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.397, fol. 61r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

writing style was popular in the second half of the tenth to the first half of the eleventh century in the Calabria-Campania region of southern Italy and in the Lazio region.

DECORATION[48]

Fol. 1r displays a full-page pi-shaped ornamental border with the beginning of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* inside.[49] The border consists of a rectangle, which is supported by two thick Corinthian columns. The rectangle is filled with stylized vegetal ornamentation surrounded by a narrow interlace frame. A human figure is sitting in front of the left column and looking upward, with a pen and a book in his hands (probably symbolizing the author of the text). Only two of the six texts are illustrated, one with twenty-one

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of calligraphy, see Nigel G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1973, repr. in one vol. 1995), 19 and pl. 28; Lidia Perria, "Copisti della 'scuola niliana,'" in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano (28 sett.–1 ott. 1986)* (Rossano-Grottaferrata, 1989), 15–23; Santo Lucà, "Scritture e libri della 'scuola niliana,'" in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1991), 1:319–87 and figs. 1–24; Enrica Follieri, "Le scritture librarie nell'Italia bizantina," in Cesare Scalon, ed., *Libri e documenti d'Italia: Dai Longobardi alla rinascita delle città* (Udine, 1996), 61–85 at 80–85.

48. Decoration is described only briefly here, as a detailed description and analysis with reproduction of all twenty-eight miniatures is found in Myrtilla Avery, "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library," *The Art Bulletin* 23 (1941): 103–16 and figs. 1–25. Avery's conjecture that M.397 might have been produced in the monastery of St. Angelo in Valleluce cannot be corroborated by available evidence. Also, see André Grabar, *Les Manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne, IXe–XIe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 27–29, cat. no. 8 and figs. 55–60; Alessia A. Aletta, catalogue entry for M.397 in Paul Canart and Santo Lucà, eds., *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome, 2000), 63–65, cat. no. 17.

49. See the color reproduction of this folio in Canart and Lucà, 63.

miniatures (*Stephanites and Ichnelates*) and the other with seven drawings (*Vita Aesopi*). The miniatures were incorporated into the text. Also, the *Vita Aesopi* has fifty-one blank spaces left for the miniatures that were never executed. The palette is dark green, dark blue, red, and light brown. Human faces and hands are colored only with red dots on the cheeks and palms.

There is pale yellow wash over the titles and some initials; most initials in the margins and inside the text are colored red and occasionally red and blue; some of the initials are slightly pen-ornamented. On fol. 67v there are division bars, which form a narrow frame for the ending closure of the *Vita Aesopi,* and a larger bar with finials, which separate the *Vita Aesopi* from Aesop's *Fables* and are in the brown ink of the text with some red color. The decoration of M.378 is closely related to that of manuscripts produced in the Calabria-Campania or Lazio regions, which often include diverse decorative elements borrowed from neighboring cultures.[50]

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

A few marginal glosses by the scribes.

BINDING

Italian semi-limp binding, possibly of the eighteenth century; parchment over thin pasteboards. The parchment was colored with orange paint, which has faded and flaked extensively, especially on the back.[51] The words "Manoscritto Greco" are written on the spine. The manuscript was sewn at five stations.

50. Ibid., 65.

51. Similar orange limp binding is found, for example, in New York, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Plimpton

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic and codicological features, as well as decorative elements, strongly point to the Calabria-Campania or Lazio regions of Italy as the place of production. The manuscript is a fascinating miscellany of secular short stories and fables. Moreover, paleographic evidence indicates that this codex was executed probably in the last quarter of the tenth or in the first quarter of the eleventh century in the circle of Neilos of Rossano. Neilos was a monk and calligrapher who was born in Rossano (Calabria), lived in Calabria and Campania, and later founded the Basilean monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata near Rome in 1004, just before he died in the same year. Neilos's calligraphic style was adopted by many of his students and followers in Calabria, Campania, and Lazio. Many manuscripts copied in writing style of Neilos contain classical Greek texts, as does M.397.[52] This manuscript belonged to the Basilian monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata (olim *Crypt.* A. 33) and possibly was produced there as well.

Purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from the Paris bookdealer G. Brauer in 1908.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[53]

De Ricci, 2:1440 (attributes MS to s.x or s.xi); Ben Edwin Perry, "The Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop,"

Add. 6 of the fifteenth century copied in Italy. See Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue … Part I," 214–16; image of binding in *Digital Scriptorium:* http://www..scriptorium.columbia.edu.

52. On book production in Calabria, Campania, and Lazio, see Guglielmo Cavallo, "La trasmissione scritta della cultura greca antica in Calabria e in Sicilia tra I secoli X–XV: consistenza, tipologia, fruizione," *Scrittura e civiltà* 4 (1980): 157–245; Guglielmo Cavallo, "La cultura italogreca nella produzione libraria," in *I bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo et al. (Milan, 1982), 497–612; Canart and Lucà, 1–34.

53. Because the bibliography for this manuscript is vast, I limit this section to the most important publications and omit literature where the manuscript is merely mentioned and not a subject of original analysis.

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 64 (1933): 198–244 at 198–200 and *passim*; *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition*, 7, cat. no. 13 and pl. 12; Elinor Mullett Husselman, "A Lost Manuscript of the Fables of Babrius," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 66 (1935): 104–26; Ben Edwin Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Haverford, Pa., 1936), 77–80 and *passim*; Ben Edwin Perry, review of *Physiologus (redactio prima)*, ed. F. Sbordone, *The American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937): 488–96 at 492–93.; Elinor Mullett Husselman, *A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah from MS. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Studies and Documents, 10 (London, 1939); Myrtilla Avery, "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library," *The Art Bulletin* 23 (1941): 103–16; Clinton W. Keyes, review of *A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah from MS. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, by Elinor Mullett Husselman, *The American Journal of Philology* 63 (1942): 381–82; Ben Edwin Perry, "On the Manuscripts of the *Philogelos,*" in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (Urbana, Ill., 1943), 157–66 at 163–66; *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 3, cat. no. 2 and pl. 8; *Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* (New York, 1957), 13, cat. no. 8; Ben Edwin Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), xvii–xviii.; André Grabar, *Les Manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne, IXe–XIe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 27–29, cat. no. 8 and figs. 55–60; André Côté, "Un manuscrit oublié du *Physiologus* (New York, P. Morgan M. 397)," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974): 276–77.; John Harold Plumb and Gerald Gottlieb, *Early Children's Books and their Illustration* (Boston, Mass., 1975), 5–6, cat. no. 3; Guglielmo Cavallo et al., eds., *I bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982), 538 and pl. 494 (fol. 3r, in color); Anton von Euw, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig,* 4 vols. (Cologne, 1979–85), 4:94–96; Ingomar Seidl, *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Äsopbiographie in allen Versionen …* (Graz, 1996), 53–72; Alessia A. Aletta,

catalogue entry for M.397 in *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, ed. Paul Canart and Santo Lucà (Rome, 2000), 22, 63–65, cat. no. 17; Grammatiki A. Karla, *Vita Aesopi: Überlieferung, Sprache und Edition einer frühbyzantinischen Fassung des Äsopromans,* Serta graeca, 13 (Wiesbaden, 2001), 10, 57, and 262.

MS M.398

Andronikos II Palaiologos, Chrysoboullos logos
Constantinople, dated June 1307.

CONTENTS

Andronikos II Palaiologos, Chrysoboullos logos. No title. Inc.: Τοῖς ἐπαινετῶς καὶ ἀρίστως τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας διέπειν καὶ ἰθύνειν ἐθέλουσ(ιν) ... ; Expl.: … καὶ καταργεῖ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνατρέπει ἡ βασιλεία μου.

Paul J. Alexander, "A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 167–207 at 177–83.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment roll, 1599 mm. (left side) and 1618 mm. (right side) x 315 mm; the roll consists of three sheets of parchment connected with glue, 437/440 x 315 mm., 640 x 315 mm., and 522/538 x 315 mm. (one col.; written surface 1025 x 228/235 mm.). Written in 127 lines; interlinear space 7–7.5 mm. There are two double justification lines ruled on the hair side of the parchment (back of the roll), but no ruled lines for the text. Parchment of high quality, white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side), thin, silky-smooth, edges show signs of wear and tear. There are three small water stains on the bottom sheet. Bottom margin is darkened by exposure and has an irregularly shaped hole patched with paper. Edges of the bottom part are also repaired with paper.

SCRIPT

Written by one scribe, anonymous. Handwriting is small, almost vertical, with slight inclination to the right, neat, calligraphic early fourteenth-century chancery script, a writing style highly fashionable and widely used in the imperial chancery of the time (for example, by the imperial notaries Georgios Boullotes and Michael Klostomalles).[54] This style features the juxtaposition of small and enlarged letters, including elements of beta-gamma and "Fettaugenmode" styles, but lacks the exaggerated mannerism of the eleventh- and twelfth-century chancery scripts.[55] Although the script of M.398 is similar to that of many other chrysobulls and *prostagmata* (administrative orders) of Andronikos II,[56] our scribe's handwriting is idiosyncratic. Distinctive letters and ligatures include majuscule lambda with long and curved left stroke, minuscule epsilon-majuscule pi with rounded top "arch," tall tau attached to the following vowel, and the preposition ἐπί (the upper part of the letter epsilon, which is detached from the letter's body, forms a large loop and attaches to iota). Enlarged letters are majuscule beta, gamma, zeta, lambda, lunate sigma, and tall tau, as well as minuscule epsilon, phi, and omega. Although there are no ruled

54. On Boullotes and Klostomalles, see Erich Lamberz, "Georgios Bullotes, Michael Klostomalles und die byzantinische Kaiserkanzlei unter Andronikos II. und Andronikos III. in den Jahren 1298–1329," in *Lire et écrire à Byzance,* ed. Brigitte Mondrain, Monographies, 19 (Paris, 2006), 33–48 and figs. 1–16.

55. On these writing styles, see Nigel G. Wilson, "Nicaean and Palaeologan Hands: Introduction to a Discussion," in *PGB,* 263–67 at 264–65.; Herbert Hunger, "Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode in griechischen Handschriften des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 4 (1972): 105–13 and pls. I–VII.

56. See, for example, Franz Dölger, *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden* (Munich, 1931), figs. 47 and 48, and "Empfängerausstellung in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei? Methodisches zur Erforschung der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 15 (1938): 393–414, figs. 1, 4, and 7–10.

lines, the scribe maintains a uniform horizontal line. The ink is light brown with grayish tint, typical for the imperial chancery of the time, and the pen is medium-thick.

DECORATION

One miniature at the beginning of the chrysobull. Occupying the first sheet of the roll and measuring 395 x 245 mm., this miniature is rectangular in shape with the upper edge curved as an arc and is surrounded by a narrow bright red (vermilion) frame. The background is golden. On the left, there is a standing figure of the Virgin holding the Child, and on the right a standing figure of the Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos holding a roll. The Virgin and the Child are portrayed in three-quarter profile toward the emperor. Standing on a square pediment, the Virgin is wearing a dark blue tunic and a violet-brown *himation* (outer garment). The Child is wearing a brick-red tunic decorated with gold. The emperor is portrayed in frontal position holding a red scroll. Standing on a red cushion, the emperor is wearing a black tunic with a golden λῶρος that is red on the inside and is decorated with numerous gems. Alongside the figures there are inscriptions in majuscules, in red ink: "Μ(ΗΤΗ)Ρ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ," "Η ΠΟΡΦΗΡ(Η) (sic)," "Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ," and "ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙ(ΩΝ) ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ Ὁ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ." The miniature is extensively flaked, especially the emperor's face. Chrysobulls with imperial portraits are rare, and M. 398 is one of the few that are authentic.[57]

57. For a reproduction of this miniature and an exceptionally detailed description, see Paul J. Alexander, "A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 167–207 and pl. 1. On other chrysobulls with imperial portraits, see Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* Byzantina neerlandica, 6 (Leiden, 1976), 184–89; Nicolas

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES
None.

COLOPHON
The chrysobull has a colophon written by the scribe and an original signature in a special "imperial" red ink (cinnabar) by the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos:

> Ἐπὶ τούτοις γοῦν πᾶσι καὶ ὁ παρὼν χρυσόβουλλος λόγος τῆς βασιλείας μου γεγονὼς ἐπεχορηγήθη καὶ ἐπεβραβεύθη τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐπισκοπῇ τῶν Κανίνων. Ἀπολυθεὶς κατὰ μῆνα ἰούνι(ον) τῆς ἐνισταμένης πέμπτ(ης) ἰνδικτιῶνος τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ πεντεκαιδεκ(ά)του ἔτους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος. Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ρωμαίων Δούκας Ἄγγελος Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος.[58]
>
> (With all of its provisions, this *chrysoboullos logos* of my imperial majesty was presented and granted to the most holy see of Kanina. Issued in the month of June of the fifth indiction in the year 6815 [AD 1307] and signed with our holy and God-given power. Andronikos, faithful in Christ God emperor and autocrator of the *Rhomaioi,* Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos.)

BINDING
The roll is kept in a brown morocco cylinder case made by Marguerite Duprez Lahey. The case is lettered: "Bulla – Andronicus II – XIV cent."

Oikonomidès, "La Chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 167–95 at 180.

58. Underlined words were written by the emperor in red ink (cinnabar).

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The chrysobull was issued by the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1307 in Constantinople and was addressed to the bishop of Kanina in Albania in response to the bishop's petition concerning the property of his see and other issues.[59]

The chrysobull belonged to an English scholar and collector, Canon William Greenwell (1820–1918). Purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from a New York art dealer in 1907.

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Description and Analysis: De Ricci, 2:1440; Paul J. Alexander, "A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 167–207 and pls. 1–2; Miner, 146, cat. no. 739; Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 vols., Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, 1 (Munich and Berlin, 1924–65), 4:49–50; Faye and Bond, 344; Vojislav J. Đurić, "Portraits des souverains byzantins et serbes sur les chrysobulles," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, Serija B, Drustvene nauke = Recueil de travaux de la faculté de philosophie, Série B, sciences sociales et humaines* 7.1 (1963): 251–72 at 252, 255–56, 258, and fig. 2; Hans Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 30; Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* Byzantina neerlandica 6 (Leiden, 1976), 185, 247, and fig. 135. *Citations*: Glanville Downey, "The Art of New Rome at Baltimore," *Archaeology* 1 (1948): 21–29; Nicolas Oikonomidès, "Le Support matériel des documents byzantins," in *PGB,* 385–416 at 404, no. 155; Nicolas Oikonomidès, "La Chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 167–95 at 180.

59. See the summary of the chrysobull's content in Alexander, "Chrysobull," 183–85.

MS M.423

Lectionary of the Gospels (Aland *l* 1632)
Epiros (?), 1299 (dated from Easter Tables)

CONTENTS

Fol. 1r: blank.

Fol. 1v: full-page drawing of the Evangelist John.

Fol. 2r: full-page miniature of Deesis.

Fol. 2v: Easter Tables (twenty-four ovals, diameter 40 x 60 mm., arranged in four columns and six rows; four ovals in the bottom row are left blank).

1. fols. 3r–29v: John, daily readings, end missing. Expl.: … οὐχ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ … (John 7:42).

2. fols. 30r–59r (col. 1, lns. 1–3): Matthew, daily readings.

Fol. 59r: full-page drawing of the Evangelist Mark, seated.

3. fols. 59v–73v (col. 1): Mark and Matthew, daily readings.

4. fol. 73v (col. 2): lection note by the scribe. No title. Inc.: Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ ιζ' τοῦ τὶ (sic) Σάββατοκυριάκον (sic) τοῦ Ματθαίου ... ; Expl.: ... Κυριακὴν (sic) πρὸ τῶν φωιτῶν (sic).

   Not identical with Gregory, 1:353.

Fol. 74r: full-page drawing of the Evangelist Luke, seated.

Fol. 74v: blank.

5. fols. 75r–129v: Luke, daily readings.

Fol. 130r (upper half): blank.

6. fols. 130r (lower half)–137r (col. 1, lns. 1–20): Vigils (*Παννυχίδες-Νηστεῖαι).*

7. fols. 137r (col. 1, ln. 21)–151v (col. 1): Holy Week (*Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς),* excl. Washing of the Feet (νιπτήρ).

8. fols. 151v (col. 2)–165r (col. 1, lns. 1–5): Passions (*Πάθη).*

9. fols. 165r (col. 1, ln. 6)–176v (col. 1, lns. 1–24) Hours (*Ὧραι).*

10. fols. 176v (col. 1, ln. 25)–182r: Morning Resurrection Readings (*Ἑωθινά).*

11. fols. 182v–212v (col. 2, ln. 9): *The Menologion*.

12. fols. 212v (col. 2, ln. 10)–215v (col. 1): *Ἀναγινωσκόμενα.*

Fol. 215v (col. 2): blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 215, two blank parchment flyleaves (one in the beginning, numbered *i*, and one at the end, numbered 216; each flyleaf forms a bifolium with a pastedown), 277/79 x 200/06 mm. (two cols.; written surface: 218 x 137 [55/60 + 18 + 60] mm.). Written in 27–28 lines; interlinear space 8–9 mm. Ruled Leroy 43E2d (first quire only) and 44E2 in dull dry point; the ruling instrument left deep impressions and scratched parchment. The ruling system is quite unusual and probably unique: the four bifolia were laid one of the top of the other according to "Gregory's rule,"[60] with flesh side on the outside, and then folded in half; the pricking

60. In accordance with "Gregory's rule," scribes arranged quire bifolia so that the flesh side of the parchment faced the flesh side, and the hair side faced the hair side. For more on "Gregory's rule," see Maria Luisa

and ruling were made only on the first recto of the quire.[61] Small triangles or slits for the horizontal lines are visible on the inner and top margins and are almost entirely cropped on the outer and bottom margins. Twenty-seven quires; collation: $1–3^8\ 4^8$ (-4, with loss of text) $5–26^8\ 27^6$ (a binion, + 5, 6). Quire signatures are missing (probably cropped during binding). Parchment is of poor quality, very thick and stiff; many folios are warped; scalloping and dark hair follicles are common; there is a strong contrast between ivory flesh side and brownish hair side.

SCRIPT

Written by one scribe, anonymous. The script is archaizing *Perlschrift*, vertical and rather small for the size of the manuscript; upper and lower strokes are reduced (fig. 6). The script is not especially calligraphic and indicates a probable monastic origin. Some letters, such as majuscule beta, zeta, and lunate sigma, are enlarged. Ink varies from medium light brown to medium dark brown.

DECORATION

Four full-page drawings executed in the same ink as the text with touches of orange-red; six pi-shaped headpieces (fols. 3r, 30r, 59v, 75r, 130r, and 151v); and twelve rectangular headpieces for the *Menologion* (fols. 182v, 186v, 188r, 189v, 195r, 200r, 202r, 203v, 204v, 206r, 209r, and 210v). The headpiece decoration features circles filled with crosses and vegetal or interlace ornaments in orange-red, peacock-blue, and light

Agati, *Il libro manoscritto: Introduzione alla codicologia,* Studia archaeologica, 124 (Rome, 2004), 154–55.

61. In Greek manuscripts pricking and ruling were usually made on an unfolded bifolium or on bifolia before they were folded into a quire. In Latin manuscripts pricking was sometimes made through four folded bifolia, but ruling was made on unfolded bifolia. See Ibid., 182–204.

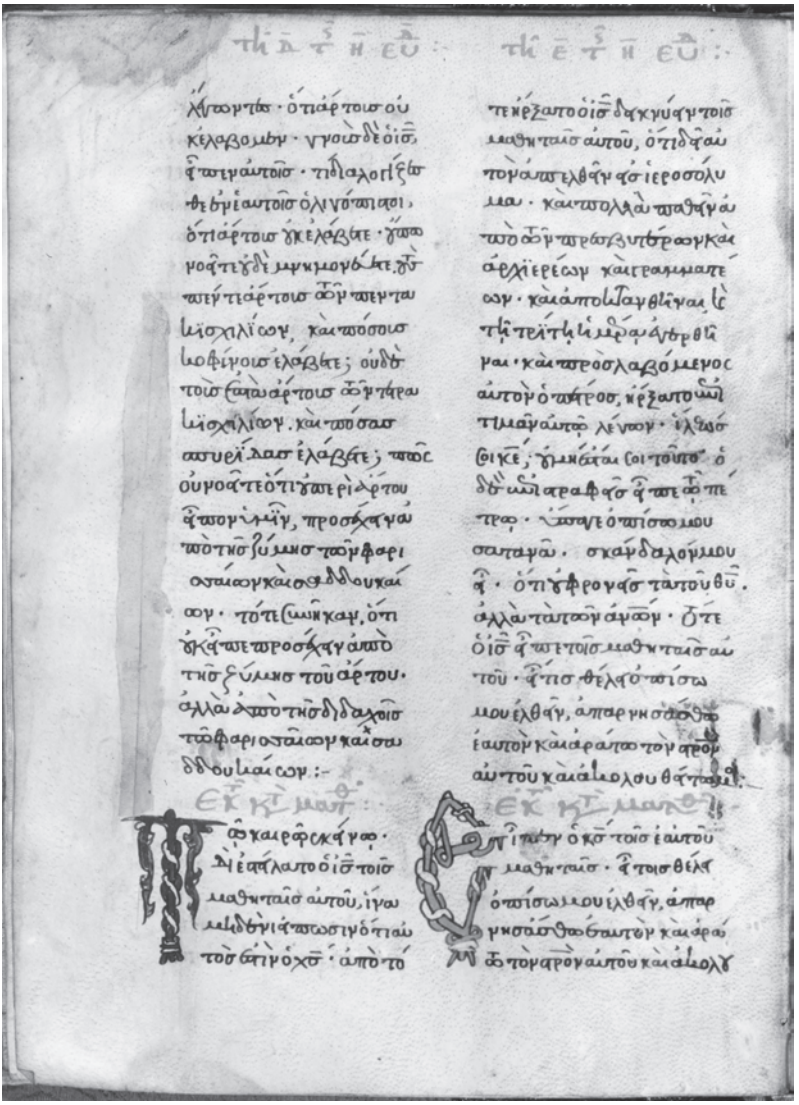

Figure 6.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.423, fol. 48v
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

blue. There are numerous ornamented initials throughout the manuscript in the same palette as the headpieces.

On fol. 1v is a portrait of the Evangelist John in a pensive pose, seated in a three-quarter profile to the right and holding a closed book with both hands; there is no lectern. A Hand of God appears in the upper right corner. John's tunic and lips are colored with orange-red pigment, and his figure is framed with a wide border filled with palmettes. On fol. 2r is a portrait of the Deesis.[62] The Virgin's *himation* (outer garment) and shoes, Christ's tunic, a cross inside Christ's halo, the fore edge of the Gospel book that Christ is holding, and the lips of all three figures are painted orange-red. In addition, Christ's *himation* is ornamented with an orange-red pattern. On fol. 59r is a portrait of the Evangelist Mark, seated in a pensive pose and turned three quarters to the right. He is holding an open book and a pen, and his lectern is supported by a stand emerging from the head of a fish.[63] Finally, the portrait of the Evangelist Luke is on fol. 74r, framed with a wide border filled with interlace and palmette ornaments. Luke is pictured in the same pose as the other evangelists, and he is holding a scroll in each hand. On the right there is a stylized edifice with four narrow columns, one of which is emerging from the mouth of a fish. The portraits of Mark and Luke portraits have no color details.

Another manuscript—Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS gr. 260 (New Testament)—contains portraits of the evangelists that are strikingly similar to those of M.423 and which were almost certainly executed by the same artist.[64] Weitzmann and Galavaris attributed St. Catherine's gr. 260 to the second half of the twelfth century, but

62. See the reproductions in *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition*, cat. no. 62, pl. 58; and *CDIGM,* 2:fig. 385.

63. See the reproduction in *CDIGM,* 2:pl. 386.

64. On this codex, see Weitzmann and Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine*, 190–191, cat. no. 68 and figs. 703–10.

indicated that "the double fold that appears along the right thigh of the figure is a stylistic feature pointing to the thirteenth century."[65] Although the portraits in St. Catherine's gr. 260 are not as elaborate as in M.423, all the details—the poses, faces, hands, and feet of the evangelists, the furniture, and especially the drapery of the garments—are almost identical in the two manuscripts. Thus, St. Catherine's gr. 260 should be reattributed to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

St. Catherine's gr. 260 was copied by two scribes, one of whom left his name, "unredeemed George," but no indication of where the manuscript was produced. Clues to the origin of M.423 are to be found in the numerous initials painted in orange-red, peacock-blue, or in both colors. The predominant motif of epsilon initials is a blessing hand; occasionally there is a hand holding a small scroll. Tau initials have long stems ornamented with numerous knots and/or rings in one color or in alternating orange-red and peacock-blue colors. Each tau has a top bar curving down alongside the stem. A few initials are zoomorphic: snakes entwine tau stems, bird heads are the finials of some initials, and on fol. 7r a bird rests on the base of an initial tau. Some tau or omicron initials picture human eyes or faces. The initials of M.423 display a close resemblance to those found in Epirotan manuscripts.[66] Thus it is quite likely that

65. Ibid., 191.

66. For analysis and color reproductions of many Epirotan initials, see Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "The Burdett-Coutts Collection of Greek Manuscripts: Manuscripts from Epirus," *Codices manuscripti* 54/55 (2006): 31–57 and pls. 1–23. On manuscript production in Epiros, see Diether Roderich Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu epirotischen Handschriften," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988)*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1991), 1:79–97; Diether Roderich Reinsch, "Epeirotika cheirographa – merikes parateresеis kai skepseis," in *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotato tes Epeirou*

both M.423 and St. Catherine's gr. 260 were executed in one of the many monasteries in Epiros.

Chapter titles in top margins by the scribe, in bright red, brown, or blue ink.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

COLOPHON

None.

BINDING[67]

The manuscript was rearranged and rebound in 1933 by Marguerite Duprez Lahey. It is a quarter-binding made of smooth natural-colored and chamfered oak boards and brown morocco leather blind-stamped with narrow border ornamentation. Lettering on the spine: "Lectionary | Greek | 1299 A.D. | M. 423."

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The manuscript's modest quality of execution and decoration suggest a provincial monastic origin for the Lectionary. The forms, motifs, and palette of the initials strongly point to Epiros as the most likely region of production. Because Epiros had close political and commercial ties to southern Italy, especially to the Apulia region, Epirotan manuscripts

(Arta, 27–31 Maiou 1990) (Arta, 1992), 545–50; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Oxford, Barocci 29 and Manuscript Illumination in Epiros," in *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotato tes Epeiro (Arta, 27–31 Maiou 1990)* (Arta, 1992), 567–84; Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Manoscritti epiroti a Londra (British Library), ed a Oxford (Magdalen College)," *Codices manuscripti* 20/21 (1997): 3–59.

67. For a description of the 1890 German binding, see Clark, 152. The misarranged folio order indicated by Clark is now corrected.

and other art forms experienced a strong Italian influence[68] that has led many scholars to believe M.423 was produced in southern Italy (see bibliography below). But Annaclara Cataldi Palau's insightful analysis of the decoration of Epirotan manuscripts has helped me to establish the origin of M.423 more precisely and to argue in favor of Epiros as the region of production of this distinctive manuscript.

Nothing is known about the further history of the manuscript until it was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from the book dealer Alexandre Imbert in July of 1910.

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The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition, 32–33, cat. no. 62, pl. 58; Alison Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament. A Study in Chronology," *The Art Bulletin* 16 (1934): 43–76 at 53–54 and pl. VI, figs. 14 and 18 ("probably done in South Italy," with a reference to A.M. Friend); De Ricci, 2:1445–46. ("written in southern Italy"); Clark, 152–53 ("South Italian origin"); Miner, 144, cat. no. 730, pl. CI (Capua is suggested as a possible place of production); *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 11, cat. no. 17, and pl. 18 ("South Italy"); *CDIGM,* 1:56, cat. no. 213; 2: figs. 385–87 (Spatharakis abstained from localization); Anthony Cutler, review of *CDIGM, Speculum* 58 (1983): 823–25 at 824 (mentions that M.423 has not been studied "since 1934," but offers no opinion about its origin).

68. See, for example, Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479* (London, 1984); Linda Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links Between Epiros and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting," in *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotato tes Epeirou*, 455–62 and figs. 1–14.

MS M.499

Amulet Roll, incomplete
Trebizond, imperial chancery, s.xiv$^{3/4}$ (before 1383)

CONTENTS

The beginning of the roll is lacking; it is now Chicago, University of Chicago Library, MS 125.[69]

A. Obverse.

1. lns. 1–27: Septuaginta, Psalm 90. No title. Inc.: Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου … ; Expl.: καὶ δείξω αὐτῷ τὸ σωτήριόν μου.

   Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 9th ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1935, repr. 1971), 2:1–164 at 100–101.

Miniature 1: portrait of the Emperor St. Constantine the Great and St. Helena, his mother.

2. lns. 28–88: Septuaginta, Psalm 34. No title. Inc.: Δίκασον, κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς με … ; Expl.: … ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν ἔπαινόν σου.

   Rahlfs, 2:1–164 at 33–35.

Miniature 2: portrait of King Abgar.

69. On the Chicago part of the Morgan roll, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Amulet Roll (fragment)," in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 194, cat. no. 56; Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98): 289–336 at 305–308 and figs. 26 and 28, repr. in Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 2 vols. (London, 1998), 2:189–92 and fig. 24; and Glenn A. Peers in *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (1261–1557), ed. Helen C. Evans (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 438, cat. no. 265B.

Miniature 3: portrait of the Apostle St. Jude Thaddeus.

126 3. lns. 89–286: *The Legend of King Abgar of Edessa*. Title (lines 89–95): Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ δικαίου Ἀὐγάρου βασιλέως Ἐδέσσης πρὸς τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πεμφθεῖσα μετὰ Ἀνανίου κούρσουρος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Subtitle (lines 96–98): Αὔγαρος βασιλεὺς τοπάρχης πόλεως Ἐδέσσης Ἰησοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρι ἀγαθῷ ἰατρῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ χαίρ(ειν). Inc. (line 99): Ἤκουσταί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἰαμάτων ... ; Expl.: ... καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομ(εν) τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πν(εύματ)ι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Constantin von Tischendorf, Richard Adelbert Lipsius, and Max Bonnet, eds., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1891–1903), 1:279–83.

4. lns. 287–303: Short (three- and two-line) prayers to Old Testament prophet Daniel and to five warrior saints: St. George, St. Demetrios, St. Eugenios, St. Theodore Tiron, and St. Theodore Stratelates. The prayers are separated from one another by the saints' portraits.

Not published.

B. Reverse.
Miscellaneous prayers in Arabic.[70]

70. Full translation of the Arabic text has been prepared by Barbara Roggema and will appear in Glenn Peers and Barbara Roggema, *Orthodox Magic in Trebizond and Beyond: On a Fourteenth-Century Greco-Arabic Amulet Roll in America* (forthcoming).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment roll, 3386 mm. (left side) and 3356 mm. (right side) x 90/95 mm.; the roll consists of six sheets of parchment connected by glue; the lengths of the sheets (beginning with the top sheet) are in mm.: 705, 798, 763, 608, 118, 394 on the left side and 364 on the right side (one col.; text width is 54/57). Written in 303 lines; interlinear space 5–6 mm. Not ruled. Parchment of high quality, creamy white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side), thin, silky smooth, soft, edges show signs of wear and tear.

SCRIPT

Written by one scribe, anonymous. The handwriting is tiny, neat, almost vertical, and with slight inclination to the right—a cursive minuscule that was typical in the middle of the fourteenth century. This handwriting displays some influence of imperial chancery scripts under Andronikos II Palaeologos and of Metochites's writing style in its cursive version.[71] Such influence can be seen in the juxtaposition of small-sized and enlarged letters, the elements of beta-gamma and "Fettaugenmode" styles,[72] and, most important, in the less formal and more individualized handwriting. The scribe's distinctive letters and ligatures include tall and narrow zeta and xi, phi and psi with a short lower stroke and elongated upper stroke, enlarged bowl-shaped nu with a curved right stroke, and a tachygraphic abbrevi-

71. On imperial chancery scripts under Andronikos II Palaeologos, see Lamberz (cited above, n. 54). Examples of the cursive version of Metochites's style can be found in his commentary in the margins of Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, MS Taphou 5; see B.L. Fonkich, "O biblioteke Khory pri Feodore Metokhite," *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* 54 (1993): 39–42 and figs. 1–2; Panayotis L. Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Athens and Jerusalem, 2002), 78–95.

72. On these writing styles, see Wilson, "Nicaean and Palaeologan Hands," 264–65; Hunger, "Die sogenannte Fettaugen-Mode," 105–13 and pls. I–VII.

ation for καί with its left stroke curved up and then down and then up again to connect with a following letter from underneath. Enlarged letters include majuscule beta, tall gamma, nu, omicron, lunate sigma, and tall tau. The scribe has a tendency to extend the right stroke of minuscule alpha, omega, and some other letters upward and to end the stroke with a small hook. Although there are no ruled lines, the scribe maintains a uniform horizontal line. Grave accents are quite long. Ink is medium brown. The pen is thin. On this scribe and his identity, see ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE.

The title of the *Legend of King Abgar* is written in the large distinguishing majuscules of the so-called *schlank Stil*.[73] Most initials are also executed in the same style in red ink.

The Arabic text was written by one hand in 1383, in grayish-brown ink, different from the ink in the Greek text, and in thicker *kalamos*.

DECORATION

Decoration consists of two justification bands, each 5 mm. in width, and twenty-one miniatures incorporated in the text. Both bands stretch along the full length of the roll and consist of two lines, red on the outside and blue on the inside, with the inner field painted in gold. All miniatures are painted on a gold background. Vermilion, green, and brown are the predominant colors; blue and purple are also used. Miniatures are numbered in the margins in pencil by a modern hand. A short description is presented below:[74]

73. Herbert Hunger, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977): 193–210 at 197–98. and figs. 7–8.

74. For detailed descriptions and analyses of these miniatures, see Isa Ragusa, "The Iconography of the Abgar Cycle in Paris, MS. Lat. 2688 and its Relationship to Byzantine Cycles," *Miniatura* 2 (1989): 35–51; Hunt, 189–92.

1. The Emperor St. Constantine the Great and his mother, St. Helena, are pictured standing in frontal position and holding a cross positioned between the two figures; their garments are painted in red and purple and decorated with jewels. The miniature is flaked, especially the faces.
2. King Abgar enthroned; he is pictured with a crown on his head and wearing a dark green tunic and red *himation*, handing a roll to the messenger Ananias, who is wearing a dark green tunic.
3. A portrait of the Apostle St. Thaddeus, pictured standing in frontal position and wearing a purple tunic and green *himation*.
4. Christ, pictured wearing a purple tunic and blue *himation* and seated on a bench covered with a red cushion, accepting Abgar's letter from the messenger Ananias, who is wearing a red tunic with a greenish-gray pattern.
5. Christ hands the roll with His answer to Ananias.
6. Christ instructs St. Thomas to go to Edessa and cure Abgar. St. Thomas is wearing a dark green tunic and a purple *himation*. The messenger Ananias is wearing a red tunic with a greenish-gray pattern and is standing next to St. Thomas. Christ is pictured seated, and St. Thomas and Ananias are in three-quarter profiles to the left, looking at Christ.[75]
7. The seals of Christ.[76]

75. In the internal file, the two figures standing before Christ are identified as St. Thomas and St. Thaddeus. I believe the second figure is not St. Thaddeus but the messenger Ananias, who is wearing a plain tunic identical to tunics in previous portraits of Ananias. Also, my identification accords better with the text, which states that St. Thomas and Ananias were sent to Abgar.

76. See fig. 7. The meaning of the seals is explained in the text of the legend: + stands for the Cross, Ψ for ψιλός ("ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰμί" = "I am not an ordinary man"), X for Χερουβίμ ("ἀναπέπαυμαι ὑπὲρ

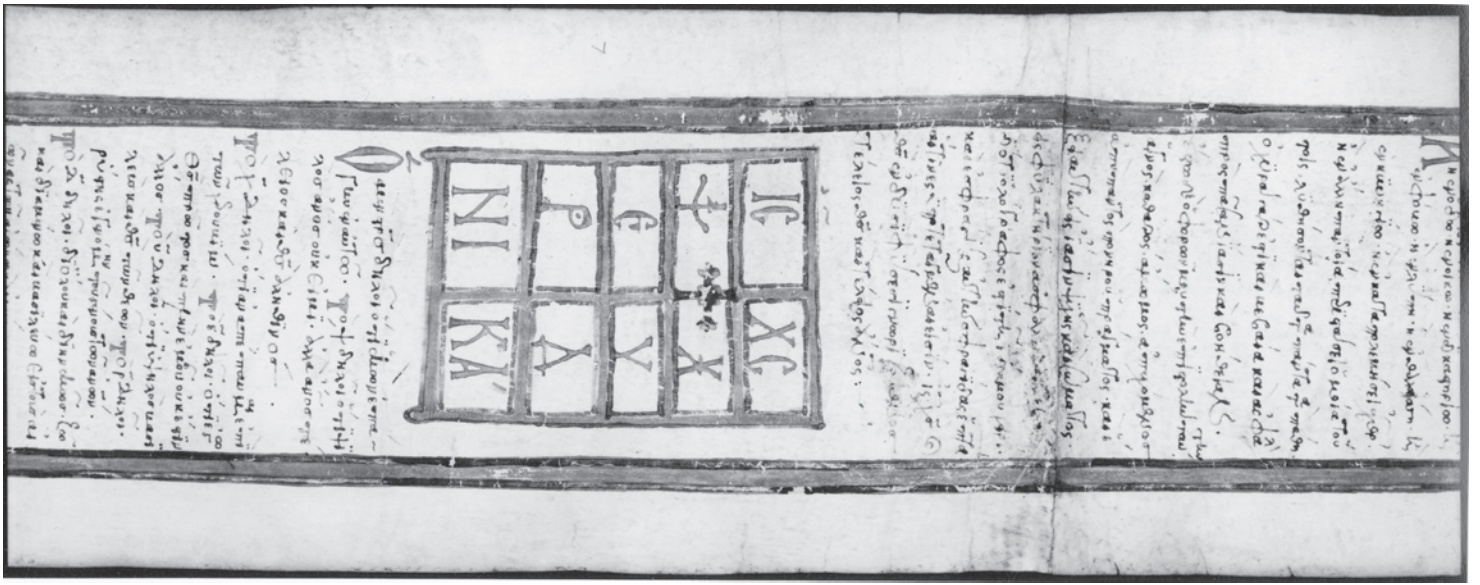

Figure 7.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.499, text 7r
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

8. Abgar and Thaddeus.
9. Abgar, reclining on his throne, receives a messenger who bears the portrait of Christ under his arm. The third figure is not identified; perhaps he is a court attendant or a second messenger.
10. Christ hands the linen with his own image (Mandylion) to Abgar's messenger, Ananias.
11. This miniature depicts a story about the city of Hierapolis. The messenger Ananias stops there and hides the linen with Christ's image between two bricks. At night two city guards see a pillar of fire descending from heaven on the image. Next morning the messenger finds that the image has miraculously imprinted itself on the brick, which was kept by the Hieropolitans.
12. The messenger with the Mandylion and a man with the brick.
13. A paralytic is healed by the image, which is extended to him by the messenger. The cured paralytic overtakes the messenger on the road to Edessa.
14. The reclining king receives the cured paralytic, who recounts the story of his miraculous healing.
15. The messenger presents the image of Christ to Abgar.
16. Two warrior saints: St. George and St. Merkourios, wearing tunics and *himations* in red, purple, and dark green colors; St. George holds a spear. This

τῶν Χερουβίμ" = "I repose above the Cherubim"), E for ἐγώ ("ἐγὼ Θεὸς πρῶτος" = "I am the first God"), Υ for ὑψηλός ("ὑψηλὸς βασιλεύς" = "the supreme ruler"), P for ῥύστης ("ῥύστης ἐγενόμην τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων" = "I became the Savior of humankind"), Δ for δι' ὅλου and διηνεκῶς ("δι' ὅλου καὶ διηνεκῶς" = "for all time and everlastingly"). In M.499 the last letter of the seal is delta, not alpha, which appears in many other manuscripts that contain the Legend of Abgar (alpha stands for "εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας" = "forever"). On Christ's seals, see G.W.H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 1355 (σφραγίς).

miniature is cropped on top, and its sheet of parchment is significantly shorter than all the others (see PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION). The trimmed miniature was obviously re-glued at some time, because the justification bands are not properly aligned. Possibly the roll has lost some of its images and texts.

17. Two warrior saints: St. Demetrios and St. Nestor.
18. A half-length portrait of the Old Testament prophet Daniel pictured in frontal position with both hands raised in prayer. There is no halo around his head (halos are often absent in amulet portraits of Daniel), and he is clothed in bright red "Persian dress" decorated with a golden band.[77] The portrait is painted on a separate square piece of parchment and is glued over the original, which was probably damaged. In the internal file, however, this replacement portrait was mistakenly identified as an "orant woman," the word "Δανιήλ" (Daniel) in the right margin was misread as "δούλη" (slave), and the brief history of the manuscript began with the mistaken conjecture: "Possibly executed for a woman." These mistakes have been repeated in scholarly discourse, including a recent publication.[78]

    Reading the word in the right margin as "Δανιήλ" (Daniel), not "δούλη" (slave), corrects the erroneous identification above. This makes better sense, as the word "προφήτης" (prophet) is in the left margin next to this miniature, and the short prayer under the miniature is addressed to Daniel. The words "prophet" and "Daniel" are written by the same hand and in the same red ink as other mar-

77. On portraits of the prophet Daniel, see George P. Majeska, "A Medallion of the Prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 361–66 at 361–62.

78. Hunt, *Byzantium*, 2:192 n. 101.

ginal annotations, proving that the original portrait was of Daniel. Moreover, there is no evidence that either the original or replacement portrait depicts a woman. Indeed, Daniel's pose, hair, and "Persian dress" are very similarly portrayed in the Morgan roll and in a medallion of the prophet Daniel in the Dumbarton Oaks collection.[79] Furthermore, it would be blasphemous to replace a prophet's picture with one's own portrait, and it would be illogical as well in an amulet roll, whose function is to invoke the help of a saint. Thus the assumption or speculation that an expensive illuminated parchment roll could have been made for or owned by a female slave or servant is wide of the mark.

19. Two warrior saints: St. Eugenios and St. Kan<idi>os.
20. Two warrior saints: St. Theodore Tiron and St. Theodore Stratelates, also known as "the General."
21. Two unidentified saints, probably warriors (the saint on the right is holding a spear); only two letters in right margin are legible: ὁ ἅ<γιος> .... This last miniature is extensively flaked and is mutilated at the bottom, and the roll ends there.

The initials are executed in red and gold and are slightly ornamented with dots and short horizontal lines.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

Each miniature was supplied with a short annotation written by the scribe in red ink in one or both margins. These annotations were cropped on both sides, but not before the person who trimmed the margins had copied the annotations beneath their original locations. The ink of these later copies is faded and/or flaked and is probably different from the ink of the Arabic text on the reverse side of the roll. It is

79. See Majeska, fig. C.

not possible to determine if the Arabic text precedes these later annotations or follows them.

COLOPHON

The colophon is not contemporaneous with the Greek text. Written in Arabic on the reverse side and slightly flaked, it provides the date of the completion of the Arabic text and the name of the scribe: "Completed in the end of the month of June in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety four of Alexander, son of Philip. The scribe was a monk-priest al-Bashuni."[80] The year 1694 (i.e., of the Seleucid era) corresponds to the year AD 1383, which is the *terminus ante quem* for the roll.[81] The colophon also gives the name of an owner, Suleyman ibn Sara.

BINDING

The roll is kept in a modern natural morocco cylinder case with lettering in gold: "ABGAR V | Constantinople | XIV cent."

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic evidence suggests that the Morgan Amulet Roll was most likely executed in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, probably a decade or two before 1383, the *terminus ante quem*.

To date there is no consensus on the localization of the roll. Herbert L. Kessler has argued in favor of Constantino-

80. A full translation of the colophon (by Barbara Roggema of the John Cabot University, Rome) is presented by Peers in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 438, cat. no. 265 A,B. I am grateful to Glenn Peers for sharing with me a recently corrected date in this colophon. I thank Dr. Irfan Shahid of Dumbarton Oaks for verifying the translation of the colophon.

81. An early unidentified commentator mistakenly read the colophon's date as 1685 of the Seleucid era, and AD 1374 was given as the *terminus ante quem* for the roll in most previous publications.

politan origin.[82] Indeed, the quality of the parchment and illumination, as well as the similarity of the script to that of manuscripts copied in the capital, suggests Constantinople as the probable place of production of the Amulet Roll. This opinion was recently questioned by Lucy-Anne Hunt, who argued that the roll was produced in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[83] Hunt presents three main points in support of this argument: the Arabic words for "St. Catherine's Monastery" are on the reverse side of the Chicago part of the roll; the image of the Virgin and Child in the roll is similar to a thirteenth-century icon probably painted at Sinai; and the legend of Abgar was of particular importance to the Syrians.

But Hunt's points are problematic. According to Barbara Roggema, St. Catherine's Monastery is not mentioned in the Amulet Roll.[84] In addition, the similarity of the images on the roll and icon is questionable: on the roll, the Child is lying in the Virgin's arms; on the icon the Child is sitting straight; and these are different iconographic types. Moreover, the *pastiglia* technique and red background cited by Hunt are not exclusively Sinaitic.[85] Furthermore, the red background in the miniatures of the Chicago part of the roll could be a later over-painting of the original gold, since all miniatures in the Morgan roll have a gold background. And the legend of Abgar was quite popular throughout the Byzantine Empire and beyond.[86]

82. Kessler, 194.

83. Hunt, 189–92. Peers, 438, cat. no. 265, has identified both Constantinople and Sinai as possible production places, but now favors Trebizond as the production site (personal correspondence; see n. 92 below).

84. See n. 70.

85. I thank Yury Pyatnitsky of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg for his insights and information on this subject.

86. See, for example, Ellen Ettlinger, "British Amulets in London Museums," *Folklore* 50 (1939): 148–75 at 171.

As to who commissioned the elaborate and expensive Morgan Amulet Roll, some clues can be found in the roll itself, which ends with prayers to and images of saints who are usually described as "warrior saints." Thus it is highly likely that the roll was commissioned by someone who intended to carry it in battle. Furthermore, one of the pictured saints, Eugenios of Trebizond, was venerated predominantly in the city of Trebizond. As Jan Olof Rosenqvist affirms, "The impression that the cult of St. Eugenios had a strictly local character is overwhelming in all periods of its history."[87] At the time the Morgan Amulet Roll was most likely produced, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the Trebizond Empire experienced a period of civil strife, political instability, and frequent and hard-fought military campaigns. It would be reasonable to conclude that a Trapezuntine military commander commissioned the elaborate Amulet Roll to protect himself on the battlefield.

The Morgan roll was almost certainly produced locally, in Trebizond, and an imperial chancery existed in Trebizond where imperial chrysobulls were executed.[88] For example, in a well-known chrysobull issued in 1374 by Alexios III Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond (1349–90), he promises money for the foundation of an annual endowment for the Dionysiou Monastery.[89] Decorated with a portrait of Alexios III and his wife Theodora Kantakouzene,[90] the

87. Jan Olof Rosenqvist, "Local Worshipers, Imperial Patrons: Pilgrimage to St. Eugenios of Trebizond," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 193–212 at 200.

88. Nicolas Oikonomides, "The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality," *Archeion Pontou* 35 (1978): 299–332.

89. Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Chrysobull of the Emperor Alexios III Komnenos; see Nicolas Oikonomidès, ed., *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), 50–61, pls. VI–IX; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 185–86.

90. See the portrait of Alexios III and his wife Theodora on the Chrysobull in Vojislav J. Đurić, "Portraits des souverains byzantins et serbes sur

chrysobull was written in the imperial chancery's extravagantly ornate, deliberately archaic formal writing style, which is characterized by medium-sized upright script with exaggeratedly elongated upper and lower strokes of many letters and with some strokes ending in elaborate flourishes. As was noted by Nicolas Oikonomides, this script is "a very special decorated handwriting, with an obvious effort to imitate the Byzantine chancery-writing of the XIth–XIIth centuries."[91]

Comparison of the scripts of the Morgan manuscript and the Dionysiou chrysobull has convinced me that both rolls were written by the same hand. A distinctive form of the letter nu is identical in both manuscripts, and also identical is enlarged majuscule beta. Moreover, the Morgan scribe often writes the majuscule letter pi in the same manner as in the chrysobull, with both vertical strokes excessively elongated. And most revealing are several lines of two inscriptions on the chrysobull's miniature. These inscriptions are written in an informal cursive script, not in the elaborate chancery calligraphy. Here we find many forms of letters and ligatures identical to those in M.499: for example, another form of majuscule beta, ligatures epsilon-upsilon, alpha-tau, and delta-epsilon. The elongated grave accents in M.499 were probably influenced by the chancery style.

Therefore, I conclude that the Morgan Amulet Roll was produced in the imperial chancery of Alexios III Komnenos in Trebizond, was written by the same anonymous scribe (evidently an imperial notary) who executed the Dionysiou Chrysobull, and was most likely commissioned by

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les chrysobulles," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, Serija B, Drustvene nauke = Recueil de travaux de la Faculté de philosophie, Série B, sciences sociales et humaines* 7.1 (1963): pls. 3–6; Oikonomidès, *Actes de Dionysiou,* pls. VI–IX; Stylianos M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters,* 2 vols. (Athens, 1974–75), 1:40; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 136–38.

91. Oikonomidès, "The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi," 317.

one of the Trapezuntine military commanders or other officials close to the emperor.[92]

It is difficult to determine whether the same artist executed the portrait of Alexios III and his wife in the imperial chrysobull and the miniatures in the amulet roll, because the chrysobull's portrait is in excellent condition and the roll's miniatures are extensively flaked (and are repainted in the Chicago fragment).

The Arabic text on the reverse side of the roll suggests that the roll was in the hands of bilingual Greek-Arabic-speaking Christians in 1383.

In the beginning of the twentieth century the roll was purchased by Abbé Luis Albert Gaffre. According to Gaffre, he bought the roll from a Coptic family in Upper Egypt. Subsequently the roll was probably purchased from him by a French book dealer, Léon Gruel. The roll was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan from Gruel in 1912.

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92. I thank Glenn Peers of the University of Texas, who has completed a monograph about the roll (see n. 70), for sharing with me his as yet unpublished hypothesis about Trebizond as a possible place of production of the Morgan roll. The paleographical evidence provided here makes the Trebizond origin of the roll virtually certain.

and figs. 221–22); Faye and Bond, 347; Isa Ragusa, "The Iconography of the Abgar Cycle in Paris, MS. Lat. 2688 and its Relationship to Byzantine Cycles," *Miniatura* 2 (1989): 35–51; Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98): 289–336 at 305–308 and figs. 26 and 28, repr. in *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean,* 2 vols. (London, 1998), 2:189–92 and figs. 26 and 28; Glenn Peers, "Orthodox Magic: An Amulet Roll in New York and Chicago," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers: October 4–6, 2002: The Ohio State University* (2002), 44–45.; Glenn A. Peers, catalogue entry "265 A,B. Amulet Roll," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 438–39.; Glenn Peers, "Magic, the Mandylion, and the Letter of Abgar: A Fourteenth-Century Amulet Roll in Chicago and New York," in *Intorno al Sacro Volto: Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (XI–XIV secolo)*, ed. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Colette Dufour Bozzo, and Gerhard Wolf (Venice, 2007), 163–74; Glenn Peers and Barbara Roggema, *Orthodox Magic in Trebizond and Beyond: On a Fourteenth-Century Greco-Arabic Amulet Roll in America* (forthcoming). In addition, a curious and sensationalistic article was published about this roll at the time it was discovered by Abbé Luis-Albert Gaffre: "Christ Revealed in Writing and Portrait: Remarkable Discovery by Abbé Gaffre of What Purports to be an Authentic Letter and Likeness of the Saviour," *New York Times*, May 10, 1908, M7; this overly enthusiastic article attributed the roll to the sixth century. *Citations*: John Rupert Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus,* Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 5 (Princeton, N.J., 1954): 111; Herbert L. Kessler, "Amulet Roll (fragment)," in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 194, cat. no. 56 and fig. 103; Kurt Weitzmann, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium,*

1971 (Washington, D.C., 1975), 69–109 at 77–78. and figs. 11a and 11b; Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a "True" Image* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 63 and pl. 3; Herbert L. Kessler, "Il *mandylion*," in *Il volto di Cristo*, ed. Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf (Milan, 2000), 67–76 at 68 and fig. 2; Herbert L. Kessler, "Le funzione della cornice," in *Mandylion: Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova*, ed. Gerhard Wolf, Colette Dufour Bozzo, and Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti (Milan, 2004), 61–67 at 64; Alexei Lidov, "La storia del re Abgar e il *Mandylion nelle miniature del* Menologio di Mosca del 1063," in *Mandylion,* 73–77 at 75.

MS M.574[93]

Liturgical Miscellany, bilingual (the Sahidic dialect of Coptic and Greek), fragments (Rahlfs 1246)

Egypt, Fayyum region, dated by the colophon 897/898

CONTENTS[94]

Fol. 1r: originally blank; crude drawing and scribbling in black ink, not original.

Fol. 1v: frontispiece, Virgo Lactans.

1. fols. 2r–53v: Holy Hermeneiai.[95] Title in Coptic (fol. 1r): "Book of Holy Hermeneiai."

93. For a more detailed description, see Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:113–21, cat. no. 59 and 2:pls. 11, 67–69, 211, 328, and 451.

94. For translations of Coptic titles, as well as *incipits,* see Ibid., 1:113–19. I thank Prof. Depuydt for his kind permission to reproduce the titles in my catalogue.

95. *Hermeneiai* are excerpts from the *Psalms* "preceded by an introduction and followed by 1 or 2 conclusions": Ibid., 1:113.

2. fols. 54r–64v: The Lesser Hermeneiai of the Church. Title in Coptic (fol. 54r): "These are the Small Hermeneiai of the Church."

3. fols. 65r–76r: Hymns and Odes. Title in Coptic (fol. 65r): "These Are the Cries of the Night."

4. fols. 76v–89v (lns. 1–13): Alphabetic Acrostic Hymns for Various Feast Days, in Coptic only (with strophes corresponding to the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet).

5. fols. 89v (lns. 14ff.)–90v: Song of Moses (Ode 1). Title: "Ode of Our Father Moses from the (Book of) Exodus."

Fol. 91r: Colophon (see below).

Fol. 91v: blank.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 91, 269/280 x 215/218 mm., two modern deer-skin parchment flyleaves, one on each side, and one original parchment flyleaf in the front, numbered *i,* damaged by book worms (one col.; written surface: 203/210 x 145/160 mm.). Written in 27–31 lines, interlinear space 7–8 mm. Ruled in thin dry point, faint impressions, ruling pattern Leroy 00A1 (ruling system Leroy 2, i.e., bifolia were ruled on the flesh side of the parchment). Twelve quires; collation: 1^{8} (+1) 2–7^{8} 8^{8} (-4, no loss of text) 9–11^{8} 12^{4} (a binion, -4, no loss of text). Quires signed by the scribe in the upper left corner of the first folio and in the upper right corner of the last folio of each quire. Goat-skin parchment of poor quality, thickness varies, brownish-yellow and brownish, smooth, some scalloping, small book-worm holes and several other small holes.

SCRIPT

A single scribe for both the Coptic and Greek texts; deacon Basilios. The Greek script is large, with inclination to the right, and in so-called Coptic majuscule.[96] This script was employed for Greek texts copied by Christian scribes who lived in Egypt. Diacritics are irregular. Script stretches beyond justification lines on the right. Ink is dark brown. Pen is thick *kalamos*.

DECORATION

The decoration was apparently executed by the scribe's son, deacon Samouel, who is named in the colophon (see below). The frontispiece (fol. 1v) depicts the Virgin (so-called Virgo Lactans) with Child in her arms, flanked by two angels. Palette: yellow, brown, dark blue, and dark red.

There are two rectangular headpieces: fol. 2r, 45 x 140 mm., with interlace ornamentation and title written inside, palette bright yellow and orange-red; and fol. 65r, 45 x 140 mm., with yellow frame and elongated yellow finials, black and red interlace ornamentation, and title written inside.

Division bars, initials, and numbers are in ink and orange-red and yellow colors.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

COLOPHON

Colophon (fol. 91r) in Coptic, by the scribe deacon Basilios from Touton.[97] Basilios cites the name of his son, deacon Samouel, apparently the manuscript's artist (also from Tou-

96. On this script, see Jean Irigoin, "L'Onciale grecque de type copte," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959): 29–51; Guglielmo Cavallo, "Grammata Alexandrina," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 24 (1975): 23–54.

97. Ancient Tebtunis in Fayyum Oasis, near modern Umm el-Baragat.

ton), and the name of the manuscript's commissioner, John, archmandrite and oikonomos of the monastery of St. Michael near Hamouli. According to the colophon, the manuscript was executed in 897/898.

BINDING

Modern morocco binding by Marguerite Duprez Lahey.[98]

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Touton is often identified as the place of production of this manuscript. But I agree with René-Georges Coquin that the colophon identifies Touton as the birthplace of the scribe and artist, not as the place where they executed the manuscript.[99] It is possible that M.574 was produced in Touton, but it is also possible that it was produced in some other town or monastery in the Fayyum region. The manuscript was commissioned by John, archimandrite and oikonomos of the monastery of St. Michael near Hamouli.

The manuscript was purchased for John Pierpont Morgan in 1911 from Kalebdian Frères of Paris through a book dealer, Arthur Sambon.

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The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition, 1, cat. no. 3, pl. 2; Miner, 147, cat. no. 745 and pl. CVI; Faye and Bond, 349–50.; Maria Kramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 65 and pl. VII; Hans Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Louvain, 1970), 86–445; Jules Leroy, *Les Manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Paris, 1974), 55, 96, 204 and pl. 34; Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:113–21, cat. no. 59 and 2: pls. 11, 67–69, 211, 328,

98. Original covers are preserved and described in Depuydt, 121.

99. René-Georges Coquin, "Tutun," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz S. Atiya, 8 vols. (New York, 1991), 8:2283.

and 451; *In August Company: The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1993, repr. as *Masterpieces from*
144 *the Pierpont Morgan Library,* New York, 1996), 72–73. and fig. 2; Karl H. Kuhn and William J. Tait, eds., *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns from Manuscript M.574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford, 1996).

MS M.597, fol. *iiv* (Aland 0316)[100]

Epistle of Jude, fragments
Fayyum region, s.viii–s.ix (?), before 913/14

CONTENTS

Frag. 1 (bottom, left col.): Inc. mut.: <έ>//αυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι … ; Expl. mut.: Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδι// <ορίζοντες>, Jude 18–19.

Frag. 2 (top left): Inc. mut.: <ύμ>//εῖς δὲ ἀγαπητοί ... ; Expl. mut.: not legible, Jude 20–?

Frag. 3 (bottom, right col.): Inc. mut.: <διακρινομέ>//νους, οὓς δὲ σῴζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες …; Expl. mut.: … μισοῦντες καὶ//, Jude 22, line 2–23, line 3; and (top right): Inc. mut.: //χιτῶνα. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ φυλάξαι ... ; Expl. mut.: … καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμ(ήν), Jude 23:ln. 3–25.

NTG, 832–35.

100. See *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1998 bis 2003* (Münster, 2003), 74–79. This Coptic manuscript is described in detail by Depuydt, 1:205–207, cat. no. 107. The Greek text is on the verso of the three small mutilated fragments, which are now inlaid into a thick modern parchment leaf numbered *ii* (second flyleaf). In this catalogue I describe and analyze only these three Greek fragments. I thank Alexander Saminsky for drawing my attention to these fragments.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, three small mutilated fragments, now laid on to a thick modern parchment leaf numbered as "second fly-leaf," 192 x 68 mm. (frag. 1), 180 x 65 mm. (frag. 2), and 65 x 210 mm (frag. 3); original manuscript had two cols., which are preserved only on frag. 3. Lines preserved: 18 (frags. 1 and 2) and 5 (frag. 3); interlinear space 14 mm. Ruling cannot be identified. Fragments are in poor condition, stiff, and darkened by exposure and an old method of preservation with gelatin.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. Script is large, vertical Alexandrian majuscule, also called Coptic majuscule.[101] This script is characterized by juxtaposition of wide and narrow letters and of thick and thin strokes. Ink is light to medium brown.

DECORATION

None in Greek fragments.[102]

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

COLOPHON

In the Coptic text the colophon states that in 913/914 the manuscript was copied by deacons Kalamon and Stephanos, sons of deacon Basilios, and was decorated by deacon Samouel, also a son of Basilios. All of the above-mentioned deacons were from Touton. The same Basilios and Samouel also copied and decorated M.574. Thus the Coptic colophon establishes 913/914 as the *terminus ante quem* for the Greek fragments, which are too small to date more precisely.

101. On this script, see the literature cited in n. 96.
102. On Coptic decoration, see Depuydt, 1:207.

BINDING

Modern morocco binding by Marguerite Duprez Lahey.[103]

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

The Greek fragments were most likely copied in the same Fayyum region where the entire manuscript was executed. According to the colophon, the manuscript was dedicated to the monastery of the Holy Virgin of Apa Selbane in Fayyum.

In 1910 the manuscript was found at the site of the monastery of St. Michael near Hamouli. The manuscript was purchased for John Pierpont Morgan in 1911 from Kalebdian Frères of Paris through a book dealer, Arthur Sambon.

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Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:205–207.

MS M.615[104]

Lectionary of the Gospels, bilingual (Coptic/Greek), fragments (Aland *l* 1602)

Egypt, s.viii (?)

CONTENTS

Fols. 1–82: Lectionary of the Gospels, fragments; alternating lections in Coptic and Greek.[105]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 82, two modern parchment flyleaves, one at each end. All original folios are mutilated to some degree and restored with modern parchment. Maximum size of origi-

103. Original covers are preserved; see Ibid.

104. For a fuller description, see Ibid., 1:84–99, cat. no. 54.

105. For *incipits*, see ibid.

nal folios is 357 x 270 mm. (two cols., written surface 255 x 175/180 mm.). Written in 28 lines, interlinear space 8.5–9.5 mm. Ruled probably Leroy 00A2. Quires cannot be restored. The few remaining quire signatures are written by the scribe in the upper left corner of the first folio of each quire and in the upper right corner of the last folio of each quire. Parchment was originally of fair quality and varying thickness, white (flesh side) and brownish-yellow (hair side). The bottoms of all folios are mutilated and affected by purple mold.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. Script is large, vertical Alexandrian majuscule, also called Coptic majuscule.[106] This script is characterized by juxtaposition of wide and narrow letters and of thick and thin strokes. Script is positioned on ruled lines. Ink is dark brown.

DECORATION

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

COLOPHON

None.

BINDING

Bound in dark brown goat-skin at the Vatican Library by Enrico Castellani in the early 1920s.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Probably executed in the eighth century in Egypt. The manuscript was bought in Cairo in 1912 from the dealer Maurice

106. See n. 96.

Nahman by Francis Willey Kelsey. Purchased from Kelsey by Henry Hyvernat for John Pierpont Morgan in 1920.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clark, 153–55; Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library,* 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993), 1:84–99, 2:364.

MS M.639

Lectionary of the Gospels (Aland *l* 381)
Constantinople, s.xi^{2}

CONTENTS

1. fols. 1r–48v: John, daily readings.

2. fols. 49r–122v: Matthew, daily readings.

3. fol. 123r (right col.): lection note by the scribe in Alexandrian majuscules. No title. Inc.: Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο τῆς Χαναναίας ... ; Expl.: ... Διὰ τὸ μηκύνεσθαι τὸ Πάσχ(α).

   Gregory, 1:353.

Fols. 123r (left col.)–124v: blank.

4. fols. 125r–215v: Luke, daily readings.

5. fols. 215v–216v: Vigils (*Παννυχίδες*).

Fols. 217r–v: blank.

6. fols. 218r–252v: Lent (*Νηστεῖαι*).

7. fols. 252v–260v: Holy Week (*Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς*), incl. Washing of the Feet (νιπτήρ).

8. fols. 260v–280v: Passions (*Πάθη).*

9. fols. 280v–292v: Hours (*Ὥραι).*

Fols. 293r–v: blank.

10. fols. 294r–369v: *The Menologion*.

11. fols. 370r–374r: Morning Resurrection Readings (*Ἑωθινά).*

12. fols.374v–377v: *Ἀναγινωσκόμενα.*

Fol. 378r: blank.

Fol. 378v: originally blank; lection notes by a later hand.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 378, four modern flyleaves, two on each side, numbered *i–ii* (front) and 379–80 (back); flyleaves *i* and 380 are thick paper, *ii* and 379 thick deer-skin parchment; 333/335 x 254/255 mm. (two cols.; written surface: 206 x 153/154 [65/66 + 23 + 65] mm.). Written in 21–22 lines; interlinear space 10 mm. Ruled Leroy B 13C2d[107] (system Leroy 1) in fine dry point. Forty-nine quires; collation: 1–15^{8} 16^{4} (a binion) 17–27^{8} 28^{6} (a ternion, -6, no loss of text) 29–36^{8} 37–38^{6} (ternions) 39–48^{8} 49^{6} (a ternion, -5, no loss of text). Quire signatures are written by the scribe in the lower left corner of the first recto and in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire. Parchment is of high quality,

107. The original ruling may have been Leroy B 14C2, if the top marginal horizontal line had been cropped during binding.

soft and smooth, medium-thin, creamy-white (flesh side) and ecru or ivory (hair side).

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is large, rounded, almost upright, and with slight inclination to the right (fig. 8). It is liturgical minuscule, which was mainly used for lectionaries read during the service. The scribe of M.639 displays an exceptionally professional and beautiful hand that can be regarded as one of the best examples of Byzantine calligraphy. This script is nearly uniform with only a few letters on a page enlarged. The enlarged letters include phi and psi; majuscule epsilon, kappa, and lambda; zeta in the shape of the numeral three; closed form of theta; tall umbrella-shaped tau; and tachygraphic abbreviation for καί. Although the script is formal, the scribe allowed himself quite a few flourishes, especially in the bottom margins. Distinctive letters and ligatures are: alpha-pi, epsilon-pi, epsilon-xi (two forms), epsilon-tau, abbreviations for καί (two forms), and two taus in the form of a "double umbrella."

The script is closely related to scripts in a number of other manuscripts, all of which are securely dated or datable to the second half of the eleventh century. All are "luxury manuscripts" and display an exceptional quality of craftsmanship in material, calligraphy, and decoration. Closest to M.639 in script and decoration are the well-known lectionaries Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 587m; and Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, MS 2.[108] These three manuscripts were almost

108. On Dionysiou MS 587m, see Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)," *Word & Image* 12 (1996): 23–60; Pelekanidis et al., 1:434–46 and figs. 189–277. On Istituto Ellenico MS 2, see Boris L. Fonkitch, "Notes paléographiques sur les manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques italiennes," *Thesaurismata* 16 (1979): 153–69 at 158–59. and pls. 6–9.

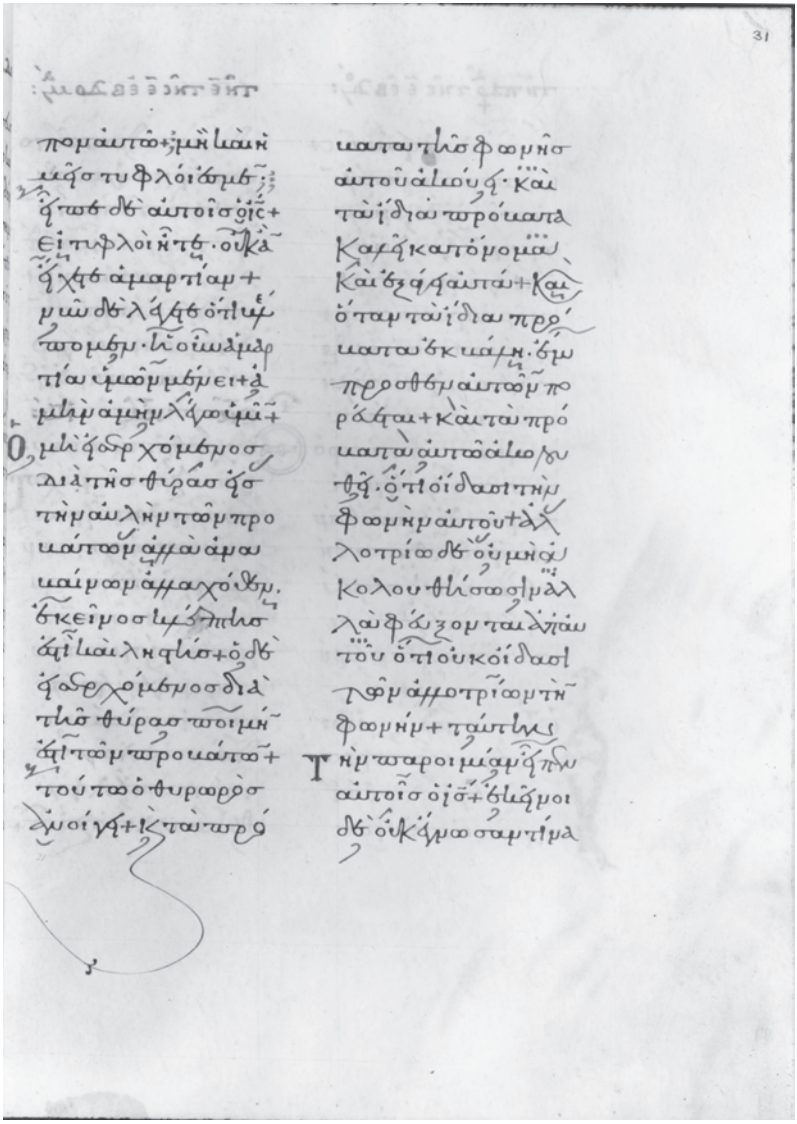

Figure 8.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.639, fol. 31
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

certainly produced in the same workshop or scriptorium and were almost certainly executed by the same scribe and probably by the same artist.[109] Both Dionysiou 587m and Istituto Ellenico 2 display individual letters and ligatures identical to those in M.639, and in all three manuscripts the scribe often finishes the last line of the page with flourishes or elongated strokes. Other manuscripts with similar script and decoration include: Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Synod. gr. 511, and its "twin" Mount Athos, Chilandari Monastery, MS 105;[110] and St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 214 (Psalter), which was probably copied for the Emperor Michael VII Doukas (his standing figure and those of his wife, Maria, and their young son, Constantine, form the opening initial M of the manuscript).[111]

DECORATION[112]

Illumination is exceptionally lavish, and the palette rich and diverse. The principal colors are vivid blue, dark green, red,

109. Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word," 25, first identified these codices as "a closely allied group," but she did not comment on the script of these lectionaries.

110. On these manuscripts, see Nadezhda F. Kavrus, "Imperatorskii scriptorii v XI veke," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 49 (1988): 134–42 at 139–40.; Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "A Byzantine Scriptorium of the Second Half of the Eleventh Century," *Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 77–78; Irmgard Hutter, "Le Copiste du Métaphraste: On a Center for Manuscript Production in Eleventh Century Constantinople," in *I Manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998),* ed. Giancarlo Prato, 2 vols. (Florence, 2000), 2:535–86 at 564–65.

111. On National Library of Russia gr. 214, see Vera D. Likhachova, *Iskusstvo knigi: Konstantinopol, XI vek* (Moscow, 1976), 42–50; Kavrus, 135–36; Rossiiskaia Natsionalnaia Biblioteka, *Grecheskie rukopisi III–XX vv. Katalog vystavki, 27 oktiabria–10 noiabria 2006 g.* (St. Petersburg, 2006), 46–47.

112. Decoration is analyzed in detail by Jeffrey C. Anderson, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 118–20, cat. no. 28; and in Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 183–97.

rose-pink, brown, lavender, and gold. The most important part of the decoration consists of five two-column square or rectangular headpieces, each occupying half a page. Each headpiece contains either a single miniature or two miniatures framed with a wide border filled with complex flower-petal ornaments in circles or rhombs. In addition, each headpiece is decorated with finials at the top corners and flowers on the stems at the bottom corners. Below is a brief description of the headpiece miniatures:

1. fol. 1r: headpiece (150 x 158 mm.), with two rectangular miniatures, divided with blue band; the Resurrection is on the left, and a standing figure of the Evangelist John is on the right; John is dictating his Gospel to Prochoros and is looking up at the Hand of God.[113]
2. fol. 49r: headpiece (117 x 155 mm.), with a rectangular portrait of the Evangelist Matthew seated in three-quarter profile to the right; his left hand is resting on a book atop a lectern, and his right hand is holding a stylus and is resting on the arm of a chair. Elaborate buildings are in the background.
3. fol. 125r: headpiece (112 x 155 mm.), with a rectangular portrait of the Evangelist Luke seated in three-quarter profile to the right and pictured writing. Elaborate buildings are in the background.
4. fol. 218r: headpiece (155 x 155 mm.), with a portrait of the Evangelist Mark in a circle (105 mm. in diameter); the same composition as in the portrait of Luke.
5. fol. 294r: headpiece for the beginning of the *Menologion* (93 x 150 mm.), with two rectangular miniatures divided by a blue band; on the left, a scene depicting Christ seated in a synagogue. Christ has

113. See a color reproduction of this headpiece in Helen Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), 106, cat. no. 60.

apparently just finished reading from the book of Isaiah and is handing the book to a figure on the right (perhaps an attendant). This miniature illustrates the Lukan lection (Luke 4:20), which is read on September 1, the first day of the Byzantine year.[114] The right miniature depicts the death of St. Symeon Stylites the Elder, who is commemorated on this day.

Other decoration includes eight single-column framed miniatures, many small marginal miniatures, and many anthropomorphic initials.[115] Numerous colored initials with vegetal, knot, and petal ornamentation add to the beauty and visual impact of this extraordinary lectionary.

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

None.

BINDING

The manuscript was bound by Charles Lewis in the nineteenth century (ca. 1820, according to De Ricci). Binding is in purple velvet over wooden boards with paper pastedowns on both sides. There are four gilt hinges, two on each cover. Only one gilded clasp remains. The fore edges are gilded and gauffered. A wide brown leather label on the spine reads: "Evangelistarium Graecum | Codex Membranaceus | Saeculi Forsan XI | Mirifice Illuminatus." The manuscript was sewn at five stations. The end bands are modern and

114. Dolezal, *The Middle Byzantine Lectionary,* 193, notes that "In terms of lectionary decoration, it is an unusual, if not unique, scene."

115. For detailed analysis and description of these miniatures, see Anderson, catalogue entry in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 119–20.

consist of alternating red and dark blue threads. The codex is kept in a purple morocco case.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

Paleographic evidence, as well as artistic features, point to the second half of the eleventh century as the time of production. The exceptional calligraphy and quality of illumination attest to the Constantinopolitan origin of the lectionary, as all scholars who have studied this manuscript agree.

The identification here of the scribe of M.639 as the anonymous copyist of Dionysiou 587m provides additional evidence in favor of M.639's Constantinopolitan origin. The Dionysiou lectionary was produced for the patriarch of Constantinople and was intended to be read during the liturgy in the church of Hagia Sophia, as Mary-Lyon Dolezal has convincingly argued.[116] Some other manuscripts closely related to M.639 and Dionysiou 587m were also produced in Constantinople: for example, National Library of Russia, gr. 214, which was probably executed for the Emperor Michael VII Dukas, and State Historical Museum gr. 511, which was written entirely in gold. These and other codices mentioned in the script section above were most likely produced in a major center of book production in Constantinople. The exact location and functioning of this center is still unclear, but it is obvious that many of the best calligraphers and artists worked together in one place to produce deluxe and high-quality manuscripts for the ecclesiastical and secular elites of Byzantine society.[117]

Documented provenance of the Morgan lectionary begins in 1827 with John Dent's sale (London, R.H. Evans,

116. Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word," 60.

117. For preliminary ideas about this scriptorium, see Hutter, "Le Copiste du Métaphraste."

March 29 and April 25, 1827)[118] to William Beckford, who bequeathed his library to his son-in-law, Alexander, Tenth Duke of Hamilton; Duke of Hamilton Collection, inv. no. 495 (Hamilton Palace Library, Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland). In 1882 the manuscript was sold through Sotheby from the Hamilton Library to the Royal Museum of Berlin.[119] Resold by the Royal Museum of Berlin to Trübner for Ellis and Elory (London book dealers).[120] In 1898 the manuscript was sold by J. & J. Leighton (London book dealers) to Henry Yates Thompson, whose bookplate is on the front pastedown, lot 99. Sold through Sotheby to Bernard Quaritch, Ltd. for John Pierpont Morgan in 1919.[121]

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118. According to the J. Dent sale catalogue of 1827, the manuscript was stolen from the Escorial Library in 1810. This information appears in the internal file for M.639 and was reported by Anderson in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts,* 119.

119. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the First Portion of the Beckford Library …: Hamilton Palace Libraries. Beckford Library Catalogue* (London, 1882), lot 245.

120. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Ninety-One Manuscripts on Vellum … from the Famous Hamilton Collection, and till Lately in the Possession of the Royal Museum of Berlin …* (London, 1889), lot 3.

121. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Twenty-Eight Illuminated Manuscripts … the Property of Henry Yates Thompson …* (London, 1919), lot 22.

122. Because the bibliography for this manuscript is vast, I limit this section to the most important publications and omit much of the older literature listed in De Ricci and Clark, as well as the literature in which the manuscript is merely mentioned and is not the subject of original analysis.

ies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene, ed. Dorothy E. Miner (Princeton, N.J., 1954), 358–73, repr. in Kurt Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), no. XIV; *Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library: Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* (New York, 1957), 14, cat. no. 11, pl. 10; Faye and Bond, 350–51; Hildegard Giess, *Die Darstellung der Fusswaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1962), 102, cat. no. 31 and fig. 17; George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), 79, 126, 141, 148, 212, and 256; Jeffrey C. Anderson, catalogue entry for M.639 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 118–20, cat. no. 28, figs. 48–50; Gerard Austin, "Liturgical Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974): 92–100 at 99; Anthony Cutler, *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park, Pa., 1975), 96; Henry Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 123–74 at 163 and fig. 77; Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 107 (comparison of initials in St. Catherine's gr. 346 and in M.639); Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 183–97 and figs. 44–55; Jeffrey C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park, Pa., 1992), 9–10, 16–19, 21–22, 24, and 27; *In August Company: The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1993, repr. as *Masterpieces from the Pierpont Morgan Library,* New York, 1996), 76–78, fig. 5; Henry Maguire, "Two Modes of Narration in Byzantine Art," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 385–95 at 386; Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Le-*

vant (Cambridge, 1996), 48, 206 n. 36, and fig. 27; Ioannis Spatharakis, "The Influence of the Lithos in the Development of the Iconography of the Threnos," in *Byzantine East, Latin West,* 435–46 at 436, repr. in Ioannis Spatharakis, *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 1996), 225–48 at 227; Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)," *Word & Image* 12 (1996): 23–60 at 25; Jeffrey C. Anderson in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261,* ed. Helen Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 105–107, cat. no. 60; Günter Prinzing and Andrea Schmidt, eds., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar: Eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 69; Stéphane Yerasimos, *Constantinople: De Byzance à Istanbul* (Paris, 2000), 108 and 118 (a full-page color reproduction of fol. 1r); Giulia Grassi, "In margine al 'Corpus degli oggetti bizantini in Italia': Il Vangelo miniato dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia," in *Bisanzio, la Grecia e l'Italia: Atti della gironate di studi sulla civiltà artistica bizantina in onore di Mara Bonfioli*, ed. Antonio Iacobini (Rome, 2003), 106, 108–109.

MS M.647

Lectionary of the Gospels (Aland *l* 1634)
Constantinople (?), s.xi^{2}

CONTENTS

Fol. Ar: originally blank; note by a later hand (see below).

Fol. Av: full-page miniature of the Evangelist John.[123]

123. Folio A is original but mutilated and glued into an opening in a modern paper folio.

1. fols. 1r–78v: John, daily readings.

Fol. 79r: blank.

Fol. 79v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Matthew.

2. fols. 80r–117r: Matthew, daily readings.

3. fols. 117r–v: Two lection notes by the scribe in Alexandrian majuscules: No title. Inc. (fol. 117r): Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο τῆς Χαναναίας ... ; Expl. (fol. 117v, first col.): ... Διὰ τὸ μηκύνεσθαι τὸ Πάσχ(α); No Title. Inc. (fol. 117v, second col.): Δέον γινώσκειν ... ; Expl. (fol. 117v, second col.): ... ὃ καλεῖται νέον ἔτος.

   Gregory, 1:353.

Fol. 118r: blank.

Fol. 118v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Luke.

4. fols. 119r–164v: Luke, daily readings.

5. fols. 164v–166v: Vigils (*Παννυχίδες*).

Fol. 167r: blank.

Fol. 167v: full-page miniature of the Evangelist Mark.

6. fols. 168r–224v: Lent (*Νηστεῖαι*) and Holy Week (*Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς)*.

7. fols. 225r–230v: Morning Resurrection Readings (*Ἑωθινά)*.

8. fols. 230v–231r: *Ἀναγινωσκόμενα*.

Fol. 231v: blank.

9. fols. 232r–316v: *The Menologion* (abridged).

10. fols. 317r–354v: Passions (*Πάθη).*

11. fols. 355r–373r: Morning Lessons Read during Holy Week (*Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς, πρωί*), excludes Washing of the Feet (νιπτήρ).

Fols. 373v–374r: blank.

Fol. 374v: originally blank; notes by later hands (see MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES).

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Parchment, fols. 374 (modern foliation in pencil 1–373; the last folio is original but not numbered), 320/30 x 236/40 mm., two paper flyleaves, one on each side, with a watermark "grapes," which is not in Briquet but is similar to other watermarks dated to the sixteenth century (two cols.; written surface: 201/204 x 157 [67 + 20 + 70] mm.). Written in 17 lines; interlinear space 12.5/13 mm. Ruled Leroy 36C2f (system Leroy 1) in thin dry point. Forty-eight quires; collation: $1–9^{8}\ 10^{6}$ (ternion, + 1) $11–14^{8}\ 15^{8}$ (+ 1) $16–20^{8}\ 21^{8}$ (- 8, no loss of text) $22–44^{8}\ 45^{4}$ (binion) $46–47^{8}\ 48^{4}$ (a binion, -4; 3 is mutilated, only first col. remains). Quire signatures are written by a later hand in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire. Original signatures were in the lower left corner of the first recto and in the lower right corner of the last verso of each quire. Almost all original signatures were cropped during binding. Parchment is of good quality, medium-thin to medium thick, somewhat warped, creamy-white (flesh side) and yellowish (hair side), and the contrast between flesh and hair sides is perceptible. A few small holes, most of which have been carefully patched. Small wax stains throughout.

SCRIPT

One scribe, anonymous. The script is large, rounded, almost upright, with a slight inclination to the right (fig. 9). It is liturgical minuscule. This scribe displays a professional, highly controlled, and beautiful script that becomes more fluid as the work progresses. Enlarged letters include theta, phi with elongated upper loop leaning to the left, and majuscule gamma with an elongated top horizontal stroke. But the enlarged letters are not out of proportion, and the script is uniform and homogenous. Occasionally the scribe decorates letters with small petals. Abbreviations for καί are enlarged and often end with a large marginal flourish at the bottom of the page (occasionally other letters, such as lambda, mu, and xi, have similar flourishes). These flourishes are often decorated with small petals. The script is very similar to those in two other lectionaries: Oxford, Christ Church College, MS gr. 23; and Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS gr. 7.2.[124] The script of these three manuscripts is closely related to the liturgical minuscule of higher-quality manuscripts, such as M.639, Dionysiou 587m, and National Library of Russia gr. 214 discussed earlier (see entry for M.639). It is obvious that the scribes of all the above-mentioned manuscripts received the same calligraphic training in a major workshop in Constantinople. Ink is medium brown and light brown, and the pen is rather thick kalamos. Titles are written in large distinguishing epigraphic majuscules (*schlank* style), in gold on red. Ekphonetic notation is in magenta ink throughout the manuscript.

124. On Christ Church gr. 23, see *CBM,* 4:cat. no. 9; on Houghton gr. 7.2, see my brief description in HOLLIS, Harvard University's online library catalogue; a full analysis and description are forthcoming in future installment of my catalogue.

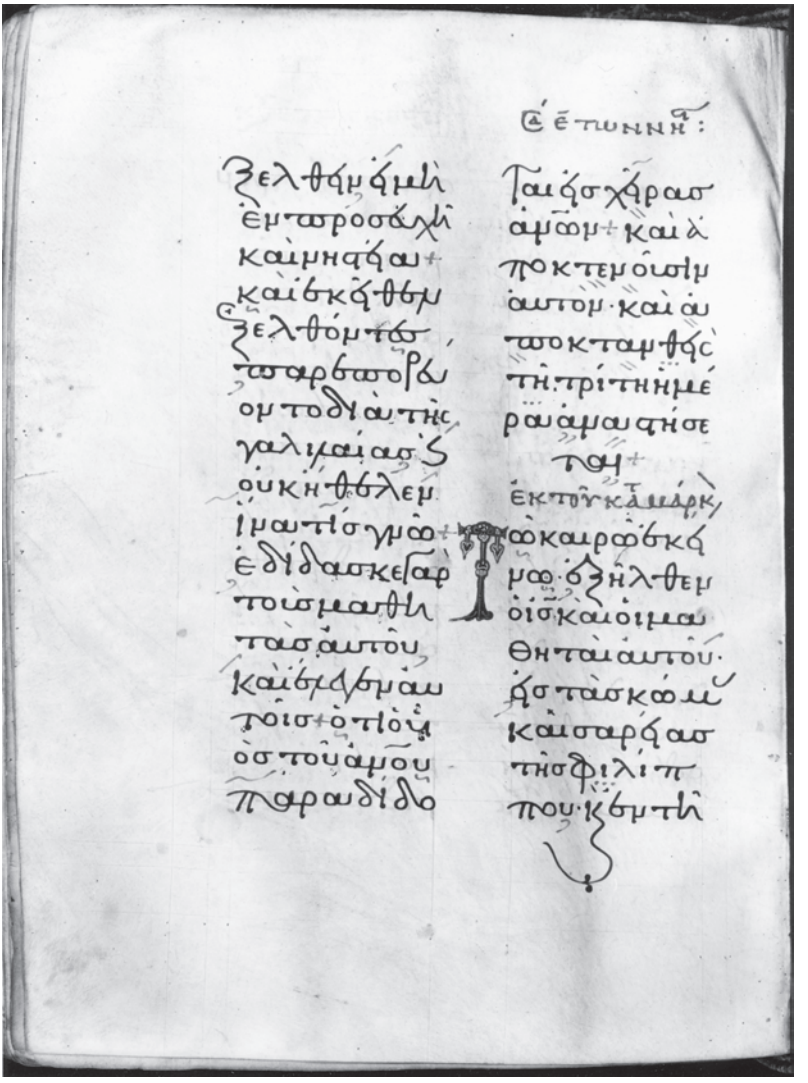

Figure 9.

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.647, fol. 177vr
(By permission of The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum
Photography: Joseph Zehavi, 2008)

DECORATION

Decoration consists of four full-page portraits of the evangelists, five large two-column pi-shaped headpieces, twelve one-column narrow rectangular headpieces, and numerous colored ornamented initials.

Evangelist Portraits

Fol. Av: a full-page portrait of the Evangelist John, seated in three-quarter profile to the right. He is in a pensive pose with a book on his lap and a pen in his hand. This folio was detached from the manuscript and now is glued to the front cover paper flyleaf. The folio was mutilated, and the parchment became dark brown. The miniature is very dark, and the colors are not discernible.

Fol. 79v: a full-page portrait of the Evangelist Matthew, with a narrow dark blue frame. His hair and beard are gray, and he is in a pensive pose looking upward. Matthew is wearing a blue tunic and lavender himation. A book on his lap is blank, and there is no pen. Another book is open on a lectern. With his left hand he is touching this book, which displays the first words of his Gospel. A halo circle line is red, and the gold background is shiny and smooth. There are simple pieces of furniture: a chair without a back, a footstool, and a desk with a lectern. There are no buildings in the background.

Fol. 118v: a full-page portrait of the Evangelist Luke. The composition and palette of this miniature are almost identical to those in Matthew's portrait, except that Luke's hair and beard are black, and he is pictured writing.

Fol. 167v: a full-page portrait of the Evangelist Mark depicted in pensive pose. The composition and palette of this miniature are almost identical to those in Matthew's portrait, except that Mark's hair and beard are black, and he is holding a pen.

Headpieces

Fol. 1r: headpiece (135 x 150 mm.), with a four-lobed rectangular inner space for the title. The field around this space is filled with flower-petal rinceaux and different species of colorful birds inside circles. Two peacocks are on top of the headpiece, and one of them is drinking from a fountain. Two large finials are attached to the top corners, and flowers are rising from the extended bottom base-line on the sides. Palette: gold background, blue and light blue, green, red, pink, magenta, and brown.

Fol. 80r: large, about half-page pi-shaped headpiece (112 x 152 mm.; side fields are each 35 mm. wide). Finials are on the top corners, and flowers are rising from the extended bottom base-line on the sides. The headpiece has a narrow red frame and is divided into five fields, three rectangles and two upper-corner squares. These fields are divided into numerous small subfields filled with flower and petal carpet ornaments. Palette: dark blue and green with some white and red.

Fol. 119r: pi-shaped headpiece, similar in size, palette, and ornamentation to the headpiece on fol. 80r.

Fol. 168r: pi-shaped headpiece (95 x 165 mm.; side fields are each 28 mm. wide). The headpiece is not divided into smaller fields, but is filled with large flowers inside alternating circles and rhombs. The finials are similar to those in other headpieces but are smaller.

Fol. 232r: pi-shaped headpiece (95 x 155 mm.; side fields are 25 mm. wide). This headpiece is very similar to the one on fol. 168r but has no rhombs.

Twelve smaller headpieces (fols. 225r, 256v, 264r, 279v, 291v, 295v, 299v, 300v, 301v, 308v, 312r, and 317r) are one-column, narrow, and rectangular, and are decorated with vegetal, flower, and petal motifs; predominant colors are dark blue and green.

Colored initials are dispersed throughout the manuscript, decorated with petal and knot ornamentation mostly in light blue, blue, and orange-red with some white and gold and occasional green. Many tau initials have two heart-shaped buds suspended from the top horizontal bar. On fol. 12r the omicron initial is in the shape of a fish. On fol. 232r (the beginning of the *Menologion*) the bottom of the initial T is supported by a bird. Minor initials are in gold on red ink.

COLOPHON

None.

MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES

Marginal Arabic lection notes throughout the manuscript. On fol. Ar there is a note by a later hand: "τοῦτω (sic) ἀληθές" (this <book> is true). The same hand wrote three short notes in black ink on fol. 374v. The second note indicates the name of an owner, hieromonk and "spiritual father" Makarios: "δέσπηνα κυρία βοήθησον τὸν (sic) δούλ(ου? or ον?) σοῦ Μακαρίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πν(ευματ)ικοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς τοῦ ἔχοντος τούτο τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐα(γγέλιον)." All four notes have many spelling mistakes: for example, the word "εὐαγγέλιον" is spelled with beta instead of upsilon in the third note.[125] The author of these notes was obviously not a professional scribe, and his handwriting cannot be confidently dated. The notes were possibly written in the thirteenth century, but paleographic evidence is inconclusive.

BINDING

Fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Greek binding; very dark brown plain goat-skin over thick (14 mm.) cedar boards;

125. Because of this poor spelling, the language of the note was mistakenly identified as Russian in the internal file.

paper pastedowns (same paper as the flyleaves); two metal pegs on the front cover fore edge (clasps are missing). The leather is slightly cracked, especially on the spine. The manuscript is sewn at four stations. The end bands consist of plain hemp threads. The codex is now kept in a maroon morocco case.

ORIGIN AND PROVENANCE

This manuscript displays paleographic features very similar to those in many manuscripts produced in the second half of the eleventh century in Constantinople (see script section). Jeffrey Anderson has identified several other manuscripts produced in the second half of the eleventh century that are very similar to M.647 in their decoration.[126] Thus M.647 was most likely produced in the second half of the eleventh century in the same major Constantinopolitan scriptorium as codices M.639, Dionysiou 587m, Christ Church gr. 23, and other related manuscripts. High-quality, but not deluxe, lectionaries such as M.647 were in great demand at the time and were executed in Constantinople on a large scale. The Morgan manuscript was probably commissioned by or donated to a provincial church or monastery located in an Arabic-speaking region. There are numerous marginal lection notes in Arabic dispersed throughout the manuscript.

A note on fol. 375v indicates that Makarios, a hieromonk and spiritual father of an unidentified monastic community, once owned the manuscript, possibly in the thirteenth century (see MARGINALIA / GLOSSING / NOTES).

In the nineteenth century the lectionary belonged to Thomas Brooke, whose bookplate is on the front pastedown. The manuscript was purchased by John Pierpont Morgan in 1920 from H. Kevorkian.

126. Jeffrey Anderson, catalogue entry for M.647 in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 91.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABBREVIATIONS

Aland = Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1994).

Briquet = Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, ed. Allan Stevenson, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907; repr. with supplementary material, Amsterdam, 1968).

Clark = Kenneth W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937).

CBM = Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften,* 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977–97).

CDIGM = Ioannis Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols., Byzantina neerlandica, 8 (Leiden, 1981)

De Ricci = Seymour De Ricci, with W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States of America and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York, 1935–40).

Faye and Bond = C.U. Faye and W.H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962).

Gregory = Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–1909).

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Leroy = Julien Leroy, *Les Types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976).

Miner = Dorothy Miner, ed., *Early Christian and Byzantine Art : An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, April 25–June 22* (Baltimore, Md., 1947).

Nelson = Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980).

NTG = *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Eberhard and Erwin Nestle and Barbara and Kurt Aland, 27th ed. (Stuttgart, 2001).

PGB = *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine: Colloque international sur la paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977).

Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition = Belle da Costa Greene, Meta P. Harrsen, and Charles Morey, *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Held at the New York Public Library, November 1933 to April 1934* (New York, 1934).

Rahlfs = Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen, 2004).

RGK = Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1981–97).

Soden = Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte,* 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1911–13).

INDICES

References in the following indices are given to the manuscript entry in which the item, identification, or individual in question appears. References for citations only are given in *italics*.

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II. PLACE AND DATE

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s.xi^{2}: M.639 (Constantinople)
s.xi^{2}: M.647 (Constantinople)
s.xii^{m}: M.378 (Constantinople)
s.xiv^{1}: M.340 (Constantinople, Hodegon Monastery?)
s.xiv^{m} (before 1383): M.499 (Trebizond, imperial chancery)

Dated by colophon:
1299: M.423 (Epiros?)
1307: M.398 (Constantinople)

EGYPT
s.viii? : M.615
s.viii–s.ix? (before 913/914): M.597 (Fayyum region)

Dated by colophon:
897/898: M.574 (Fayyum region)

ITALY
s.x$^{4/4}$–s.xi$^{1/4}$: M.397 (Calabria-Campania or Lazio region)

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44E2: M.423
B 13C2d: M.639
B 14C2: M.639
B 32C1: M.378
PD2E 22E2a: M.397
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Thompson, Henry Yates: M.639
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IX. OTHER MANUSCRIPTS CITED

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Houghton Library
MS gr. 7.2: *M.647*

MOSCOW
State Historical Museum
MS Synod. gr. 511: *M.639*

MT. ATHOS
Chilandari Monastery
MS 105: *M.639*
Dionysiou Monastery
MS 587m: *M.639, M.647*
Chrysobull of the Emperor Alexios III Komnenos: *M.499*
Vatopedi Monastery
MS 953: *M.378*
Xenophontos Monastery
MS 128: *M.350*

MT. SINAI
Monastery of St. Catherine
MS gr. 157: *M.378*
MS gr. 260: *M.423*
MS gr. 339: *M.378*

NEW YORK
Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library
MS Plimpton Add. 6: *M.397*

OXFORD
Bodleian Library
MS Canon. gr. 38: *M.340*
Christ Church College
MS gr. 23: *M.647*
MS gr. 24: *M.378*
MS gr. 26: *M.378*

PARIS
Bibliothèque nationale de France
MS gr. 51: *M.378*
MS Suppl. gr. 467: *M.340*
MS Suppl. gr. 1258: *M.378*

ST. PETERSBURG
National Library of Russia
MS gr. 214: *M.639; M.647*

VATICAN CITY
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
MS Barb. gr. 449: *M.378*
MS Chig. gr. 23 (R. V. 29): *M.340*

VENICE
Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia
MS 2: *M.639*

VIENNA
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
MS Suppl. gr. 52: *M.378*

X. INCIPITS

Ἀγροῦ χελιδὼν μακρὸν ἐξεποτήθη (sic) ... : M.397

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Α᾽ Περὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου.: M.340

Α᾽ Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾶ γάμου.: M.340; M.378

Α᾽ Περὶ τῶν μάγων.: M.340

Ἄρξωμαι λαλῆσαι περὶ τοῦ λέοντος ... : M.397

Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ὡς γέγραπται ... : M.340; M.378

Βηθλεέμ, ἑτοιμάζου, εὐτρεπιζέσθω ... : M.350

Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ υἱοῦ Δα(υὶ)δ... : M.340; M.378

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<διακρινομέ>//νους, οὓς δὲ σῴζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες … : M.597

Δίκασον, κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς με … : M.499

<ἐ>//αυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι … : M.597

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος ... : M.340; M.378

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ... : M.340; M.378

Ἐρεῖτε οὖν μοι ἐντολῆς τί βελτίον ... : M.397

Ἤκουσταί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἰαμάτων ... : M.499

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ ὕφος τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) εὐα(γγελίου) ἐν ἑβδ(ομᾶσιν) ὅλαις ζ᾽ ... : M.340

Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ ιζ᾽ τοῦ τὶ (sic) Σάββατοκυριάκον (sic) τοῦ Ματθαίου ... : M.423

174 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ)Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τοῖς χρό(νοις) Τραιανοῦ ...: M.378

Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Λου(κᾶν) εὐα(γγέλιον) ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Παύλου ... : M.340

Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Μ(ά)ρ(κον) εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ... : M.340

Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου … : M.499

Ὁ μὲν τύχην δούλος τῷ δὲ γένει Φρὺξ τῆς Φρυγίας ... : M.397

Σχολαστικοῦ ἐρωτηθέντος, πόσους ξέστας ὁ ἀμφορεὺς ἔχει … : M.397

Τοῖς ἐπαινετῶς καὶ ἀρίστως τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας διέπειν καὶ ἰθύνειν ἐθέλουσ(ιν) ... : M.398

Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχὰς πρόσδεξαι Ἅγιε Κύριε ... : M.350

<ὑμ>//εῖς δε ἀγαπητοί ... : M.597

// χιτῶνα. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ φυλάξαι ... : M.597

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο τῆς Χαναναίας ... : M.639, M.647